E ROMAN CAPITOL

E. RODOCANACHI



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THE ROMAN CAPITOL

IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES



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THE CITADEL—THE TEMPLES—THE SENATORIAL PALACE—THE PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORS—THE MUSEUM

BY

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Translated from the French by

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With Fifty Illustrations and a Map



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A VISIT TO THE CAPITOL.

BEFORE entering on the history and describing the successive aspects of the Capitoline buildings, it is advisable that a description should be given of the present state of the site and of the three palaces surrounding it, and that the things most worthy of attention should be indicated for the benefit of intending visitors.

Site of the Capitol and Means of Access.—The monumental staircase by which access is obtained to the Capitol from the Piazza Aracoeli is the work of the architect Giacomo della Porta, who contributed largely to the completion of the Capitoline Palaces. It was begun in the year 1577, and was quickly finished (p. 142). The two sphinxes visible at the bottom, on either side, are the reproduction of those placed there by Pius IV. ; the latter were discovered near the Church of Santa Maria supra Minerva ; and, at present, are in the courtyard of the new palace (that on the left), on each side of the statue of Marforio. The substitution was made in 1885.

The small triangular garden which is on the left of the staircase, between it and another staircase leading to the Aracoeli Church, was a mere rubbish heap, prior to 1818. Now, it contains a mediocre statue by Mazini, representing the tribune Cola di Rienzo, and, a little higher, a cage with she-wolves. In times gone by, the Romans kept a lion in the Capitol (p. 79). On the right of the staircase, is a slope with four windings, by which carriages ascend to the Square ; it bears the name of *Via della Tre Pile*, on account of the three "Pignates" or pots that figure in the armorial bearings of Pope Innocent XII., the creator of this road, and which are represented on a somewhat high pillar standing at the third turn (p. 148).

The two groups of the Dioscuri which adorn the top of the staircase were placed at this spot by the care of Pope Gregory XIII., in 1583. They had been discovered some twenty years

previously in the Ghetto; and Valsoldo had restored them. When Michael Angelo, in 1535, planned the transformation of the Capitol, on the occasion of the coming of the Emperor Charles V., he proposed to arrange two groups at this place, but lengthwise and facing each other (p. 129).

The balustrade that borders the Square was finished in 1592. On it were placed, in 1590, the trophies bearing the name of Marius, which are still to be seen there; they come from the "Acqua Marcia" castle situated on the Esquilian (p. 146). At one of the ends of the balustrade (Cordonata), was erected, about the same date, the milestone marking the first mile of the Appian Way, where it had been discovered in 1583. Another milestone, found a little farther on, was erected near it. Formerly, they were each surmounted by a ball (p. 146). The two statues of Constantine and his son Constans, which stand between the trophies and the pillars, were brought to this place only in 1653; prior to this date, they were on the steps leading from the Square of the Capitol to the Aracoeli Church. The base of Constantine's statue is still standing at the same spot; it forms the corner of the staircase, and his name may be seen engraven on it. A third statue representing the Emperor's second son used to stand there also; but it was subsequently removed to the Museum of the Capitol; and is now at the Lateran, whither Pope Clement XII. had it transported in 1737. These three statues had been discovered in the Thermae of Constantine (pp. 146, 204).

Constantine's Horse.—In the centre of the Square, which, until the year 1477, was used as a market, has stood since 1538 the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which was primitively erected in the Forum, and was later removed, some time before the ninth century, to a position in front of the Lateran basilica. For a long while, it was supposed to represent the Emperor Constantine; and on its preservation was believed to depend the city's welfare. This belief sufficed to guarantee it from destruction. The statue is one of the finest bronze monuments that have come down to us. "All other bronze horses must be the humble servitors of this one," said the president De Brosses, in the eighteenth century. Some people assert that, if the spectator will put himself in front of the horse, and slightly to the left, he will think he sees an owl formed by the ears and a tuft of the mane; it is to this illusion, no doubt, that must be attributed the strange legend related about the statue (p. 132). The idea of decorating the Square of the Capitol with it was originally conceived by Michael Angelo; and it was the only part of his programme which was carried out in his lifetime.

Thorwaldsen and the French architect Valadier partially restored it in 1836. The huge block that serves as its pedestal came from Trajan's Forum. In the seventeenth century, Constantine's horse had its special guardian (p. 140).

The steps and the portico, giving access, on the one side, to the Tarpeian Mount and, on the other, to the Santa Maria Aracoeli Church, are by Vignola (p. 143).

Senatorial Palace.—The central palace is the one in which the Senator, a magistrate, usually not an inhabitant of the City, rendered civil and criminal justice. It stands on the site occupied, in the Middle Ages, by the stronghold in which the representatives of the people used to assemble, and which Pope Lucius II. tried to storm, but in vain, in 1145 (p. 167).

Façade.—The present façade was built by Girolamo Rinaldi from the designs of Michael Angelo and Giacomo della Porta : it was completed under the pontifical reign of Clement VIII., between 1592 and 1605. It was superposed on the ancient structure ; and the joining of the old and new parts is clearly distinguishable on each side (p. 152). The double staircase leading to the principal entrance dates back to 1582. The fountain beneath was finished in 1588, not without lively discussions between the Pope, who had proposed the plan for it, and the Communal Council, which demanded a pledge that water would be supplied to it. As a matter of fact, the water supply was laid on only thirty years later, in 1619 (p. 152).

The two groups of statuary ornamenting this fountain were a present from Pope Leo X. ; they appear to date back to the time of the Antonines, and came from the temple of Serapis, which was situated on the Quirinal. It was in 1517 that they were transferred to the Capitol. One of the figures at first represented the Tigris ; the tiger at its side was replaced by a she-wolf, which transformed the group into a personification of the Tiber. The other represents the Nile. Before being employed to ornament the façade of the Senatorial palace, the two groups stood at the foot of the palace of the Conservators (p. 125). The red basalt statue in the centre of the fountain was a Minerva ; it was made into a representation of Rome, and was placed at this spot, where a larger statue had previously stood. In 1614, it was partially restored ; in 1653 an arm, two fingers, and the nose were renovated : later, the renovation was extended to the other arm and nearly the whole of the body (p. 152).

On the façade, in the lower part of the first story, are marble tablets celebrating the taking of Rome, and bearing the names of the soldiers that perished on this occasion, September the

20th, 1870. The bottom ones replace windows through one of which, the underneath one on the right, prisoners shut up in the Capitol used to solicit charity from the passers-by (p. 164).

The windows of the first story, constructed in 1593, give light to the large Audience-Chamber. On the right and left of the main entrance are the people's armorial bearings and those of the kingdom of Italy ; higher up, is an inscription to the glory of Clement VIII. (1592-1605).

Campanile.—The Campanile as planned by Michael Angelo was not very lofty. The present one has three stories ; being commenced in 1578 by Martino Lunghi, whose design was selected from a number of others, it was completed in two years. The name of the reigning Pope, Gregory XIII., may be seen engraven at the top on the four sides. The statue surmounting it was removed during the pontificate of Sixtus V., who objected to an idolatrous image figuring above the bells (1585) (p. 151). The clock that adorns the Campanile was added in 1804, by the order of the Communal Council ; it cost two hundred and fifty crowns (p. 228).

From the top of the Campanile, a magnificent view is enjoyed over the city and the Roman Campagna.

Eastern Façade.—The eastern façade, overlooking the narrow street that leads to the Arch of Septimus Severus (Via dell' Arco di Settimio), is the most interesting part of the edifice ; near the Square stands the Tower of Martin V., so called because this Pope had it restored in 1427. In the lower portion can be seen, towards the right and above, near the edge of the Tower, the armorial bearings of the Senator, Nicolo Tolosano (1544-1545) ; beneath, those of the family Gualdi, flanked with two inscriptions recording the names of Galleotto and his son Francesco, Roman Senators in 1510 and in 1530 ; still further down, on the left, an inscription recording the works carried out in the Senatorial Palace by Pope Innocent XII. (1692) ; the four pendentives beneath contain the armorial bearings of the three Conservators, and those of the prior of the *Caporioni* in office, at the time when the commemorative tablet was set up ; more on the left, is a series of bass-reliefs, one of which was supposed to represent the effigy of Scipio Africanus ; rather higher, and by themselves, are the armorial bearings of the Senator Giacomo Bovio (1514), crowned with a fleur-de-lys (p. 129).

Underneath, a door opens which, at present, gives access to a small terrace ; it was once on a level with the ground, and served as an entrance to the salt repository, which was in the Tabularium. It is called the door of Sixtus IV. ; for it was built

under his pontificate, in 1477. On it are engraven his armorial bearings, the oak of the *Della Rovere*; those of the people are on the left, those of Cardinal d'Estouteville, the Camerlingo, on the right. In the frieze are three small escutcheons; those at the ends are surmounted by a swine, forming the armorial bearings of the Porcari family, one of whose members, Bernardo Porcio, was at that period in command of a Quarter of the City. The attribution of the centre escutcheon is uncertain (pp. 102, 223).

The angle of this façade, and of the southern one, is formed by the Tower of Nicolas V.; on it are seen his armorial bearings, close to the summit, beside those of Pope Innocent VIII. and of Cardinal Cibo, his nephew, placed a little lower (p. 91).

Southern Façade.—The façade fronting the Forum is composed of two entirely distinct portions—the lower one being the ancient Tabularium, sole remains of the Roman buildings that stood on the Capitoline Hill; and the upper one, no doubt, dating back only to the seventeenth century. The Tabularium was employed as a repository for public documents. In the Middle Ages, it was transformed into a salt repository. Its partition walls, indeed, were so eaten away by this latter employment of it that, in 1604 and in 1612, important sums of money had to be spent in strengthening the foundations, since the whole structure, especially the Audience-Chamber, was in danger of falling in (p. 183). The stones composing the existing portion of the Tabularium are of peperino, and measure rather more than a yard in length; the wall is four yards thick. The windows overlooking the Forum were, during the Middle Ages, on a level with the ground. One of them, on the right, had even been enlarged so as to serve for a door, through which beasts of burden brought the bags of salt that had been unloaded on the banks of the Tiber (p. 104).

A long corridor runs right along the Tabularium, and conducts to the door of Sixtus IV., already mentioned, the door now built up. A staircase connects this passage with the upper floor. Formerly, the Tabularium had an extra story, which was razed at the time of the barbarian invasions. It is from the Tabularium that access is gained, by means of a flight of stairs, to the upper floor of the building. In the wall of the staircase, standards of lineal measurement were inserted, and also an inscription commemorating the gift made by the Emperor Frederick II. of the war-chariot—the *carroccio* of the Milanese—taken by him at the battle of Cortenuova, in 1237 (p. 70).

Western Façade.—Entrance to the Tabularium is obtained by a lofty square door on the western side of the Capitol, in the *Via Capitolina* (p. 105). A little higher up, between the two

towers bearing the name of Boniface IX. (p. 78), is the door of the Town services, which are established in the modern portions of the buildings ; it used to be the entrance to the prisons. Executions were carried out either in front of the palace, on the Square of the Capitol, or on the gibbet erected at the top of the Tarpeian Mount. The Senator was bound to witness them from the window of the Tower, forming the angle of the western and northern façades (pp. 88, 107).

Interior of the Senatorial Palace.—The interior of the Senatorial Palace, into which, indeed, it is somewhat difficult to enter, is not very interesting. It contains scarcely anything worthy of remark, except the large hall in which the Senator held his court of justice, and which served for ceremonies, the conferring of poetical wreaths or crowns, receptions of important personages, the installation of new magistrates. The names of Sixtus V. and Paul V., who made the alterations giving it its present appearance, are inscribed on the lintels of the two chief doors (p. 155). Into the walls have been let fragments of frescoes found in the foundations of the palace, and a representation of the Madonna much venerated in the Middle Ages ; this latter had been discovered underneath the principal inside staircase (pp. 92, 224). In a contiguous room are the standards of the ancient Quarters of Rome, decorated with their coats of arms.

Palace of the Conservators.—On the right of the Square stands the palace of the Conservators. Begun before the end of the fourteenth century, at a time when the Conservators, who had succeeded to the Bannerets, were in a fair way to become the effective representatives of the people, it assumed more and more importance as their power increased. However, it was not completed until the end of the sixteenth century, under the direction of the architect Giovanni del Duca. For the ancient arcades, which used to open on the Square and the inner courtyard, where traces of them may still be found, del Duca, in accordance with Michael Angelo's plan, substituted the cold-looking colonnade that one sees there now. The only modification he made in the master's design was to enlarge the middle window, a change for which he has been justly blamed. The inscriptions that may be read above some of the doors, as well as in the narrow street that skirts the palace and leads to the Tarpeian Mount, refer to the Corporations, whose consuls used to sit formerly as judges in the chambers of the groundfloor (p. 168).

In this palace are the Capitoline Archives (at the further end of the courtyard) and a portion of the museum. The decoration of the large hall was made by the Chevalier of Arpino, that of

the square room contiguous to it by Tommaso Laureti, that of the corner room by Ripanda ; the other decorations are attributed to Daniele da Volterra, Carrache, and Perugino (p. 155).

New Palace.—The palace facing that of the Conservators was not undertaken until long after the completion of the first. Commenced in 1644, the outside portion was finished in 1655, under the direction of Carlo Rinaldi. As the Communal treasury was empty, it was found necessary, in order to procure the funds required for the building, to suppress the salaries of most of the Municipal functionaries, including even those of the schoolmasters. In the courtyard below the Aracoeli Church, are inscriptions recording the aid contributed by Innocent X. to its completion (p. 185).

Museums.—Properly speaking, the origin of the Capitoline museums goes back to the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV, who, in 1471, gave to the people several of the objects that are still among the most precious of the collection, together with others, for instance, the bronze She-Wolf, the gilded Hercules, a Camillus, a colossal head of Nero. Already, about 1509, the museum, which had been placed in the palace of the Conservators, contained numerous statues, inscriptions, and fragments ; and the Communal Council endeavoured either by purchase or exchange, and sometimes by means of fines, to increase its riches (p. 205).

About the end of the sixteenth century some attempt was made to arrange the collections. In or near 1700 the completion of the new palace was taken advantage of to transfer to it part of the objects that were heaped up in disorder in the rooms of the ancient palace. Benedict XIII., and more especially Clement XII., enriched the museums with considerable donations ; and Benedict XIV. it was who created in 1749 the picture gallery, which, to tell the truth, is but of small value compared to the other Roman collections (p. 221).

Collections of the Palace of the Conservators.—The collections of the palace of the Conservators, the arrangement of which has just been thoroughly overhauled, and which are not yet definitely classified, comprise the objects which were the nucleus of the collections. The She-Wolf is in one of the rooms on the first floor—the square room decorated by Laureti. The geese, or rather bronze ducks, bought in the sixteenth century, are in one of the small side rooms. The Marzio, or Thorn-drawer, is in the last room on the left, at the end of the passage leading to the higher courtyard. In the same room there is a colossal bronze head, and, beside it, a tensa. On the second floor is the gilded

Hercules; it stands at the end of the corridor, together with the Camillus; moreover, mosaics have been recently placed there, with ancient frescoes and bronzes. The Consular Tables are on the first floor, in the room beyond the one decorated by Ripanda. On the staircase have been placed bass-reliefs taken from the S. Martina Church. In the courtyard have remained fragments of colossal statues, head, fingers, and feet, belonging in part to a figure of Augustus. There, also, beside the door leading to the Archives, may be seen a large, rectangular vase in granite, which once contained the ashes of the first Agrippina, wife to Germanicus, who died in exile; this vase was employed, in the Middle Ages, as a corn measure. On one of its faces there is a representation of a soldier of the Roman militia (p. 197). At the further end of the courtyard are two large statues of slaves in grey marble (p. 216). In the higher courtyard, the plan of Rome, *Forma Urbis*, partially reconstituted, owing to the intelligent efforts of the Comm. Lanciani (p. 219), covers the whole of one wall. At the back is the famous group of a lion devouring a horse, which has been restored with but poor effect. In the Middle Ages, criminals used to be placed on the horse, which, at that period, occupied a site in front of the Senatorial palace (p. 80).

Collections of the New Palace.—In the courtyard of the new palace, at the further end, may be seen the Marforio, a statue representing a river, the Rhine, no doubt, under the features of Jupiter; at one time it was in a street at the foot of the Capitol, and was used for pasting up the replies to the epigrams of Pasquin. In 1592, it was about to be removed to the Navona Square, when the Communal Council claimed it "to serve as a river-god above the fountain." It was transferred to the spot it now occupies in the year 1737. Bescapé restored it at the time of its removal to the Capitol. In the gallery and rooms on the ground floor there are two cynocephali (p. 205), and some Egyptian statues, part of which came from Hadrian's villa (p. 219). On the first floor are the Dying Gladiator; the Table containing the *Lex Regia*, which served the tribune, Cola di Rienzo, as a text, when urging the Romans to shake off the yoke of the nobles; the Satyr, in red marble; a wounded Amazon; the Infant Hercules, and the Faun; the busts of the Philosophers, and those of the Emperors, in two special rooms; these had been collected by Cardinal Alexander Albani, and were given to the museum in 1733, after his death, by Pope Clement XII. The room of the Doves is so called on account of a mosaic remarkable for its fineness (p. 220). In the passage, in a sort of alcove, is the Venus (p. 219).

THE CAPITOL IN ANTIQUITY

THE ROMAN CAPITOL

ANCIENT AND MODERN

THE CAPITOL IN ANTIQUITY

PERIODS OF THE MONARCHY AND THE REPUBLIC.

THE semicircle of hills forming the nucleus of historic Rome which converge round the hollow of the Forum (the Palatine, towards the south; the Velian, Esquilian, Viminal, Quirinal, towards the east and north-east) is closed in, towards the north-west, by a steep hill of volcanic tufa, the Capitol. The Capitol separates from each other two plains of very unequal size: to the north, the plain bordering on the Tiber, the Campus Martius; to the south, the Forum Boarium with its adjacent land of the Velabrum and the Forum, leaving between them only two narrow passages: the one to the south-west, about two hundred yards wide, along the river; the other, at its north-eastern extremity, in the vicinity of the Quirinal.

[1] Primitively, the Capitoline hill was not, as it is to-day, a height isolated on all sides. It was joined to the Quirinal, of which it formed a prolongation, by a rocky saddle about a hundred and ninety-six yards long and thirty-three yards high. This saddle, which existed throughout the period of the Republic, disappeared at the beginning of the second century A.D., when Trajan, in order to establish a direct connection between the Forum and the Campus Martius, levelled the natural soil and built, at a lower level, the Forum that bears his name.[2]

[1] M. L. Homo, formerly of the French School in Rome, has very kindly revised this first part.

[2] Dion Cass., LXVIII. 16. Cf. inscription on Trajan's column, C.I.L., VI. 960.

The Capitoline hill, which is about five hundred yards long from north-east to south-west, and two hundred yards broad, in its widest part, comprises two summits connected by a saddle fairly similar to the one formerly linking together the Capitol and the Quirinal. The northern summit, the ancient Arx, is at once the highest part (rather more than fifty yards, at the site of the present Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli) and that which has the smallest area (eight thousand eight hundred to nine thousand nine hundred square yards); the southern summit, the Capitol properly so called, of slightly less altitude (fifty yards at the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli) possesses a considerably larger area (about sixteen thousand five hundred square yards). The saddle connecting the two summits, the ancient Asylum, has an altitude of forty-two yards at the site of the Piazza del Campidoglio; its area is almost equal to that of the Arx. The whole of the Capitol, with its two culminating points (fifty-three and fifty yards), has a mean altitude of thirty-three yards above the Campus Martius to the north-west (height nineteen to twenty yards), and to the south-west above the hollow of the Velabrum (ancient level at the foot of the Janus Quadrifons, twelve yards) and the Forum (fourteen yards).

The essential geographical characteristics of the Capitol,—to wit, its being naturally connected with the Quirinal, and, on the contrary, its being isolated from the Palatine, on account of the marshes of the Forum and the Velabrum; its rising, on all sides, steeply above the surrounding plains; and, last of all, its restricted area, which did not lend itself, as the table-lands of the Palatine, the Caelian, and the Quirinal did, to the establishment of considerable-sized colonies,—exercised a decisive influence on the history of the hill.

The two portions of the Capitol seem to have, at first, had an independent history and development. Until the end of the monarchical period, there was no name which designated the whole of the hill. From the outset, the Arx appears to have depended on the Quirinal, and on the Sabine colony that was established there. The southern height primitively bore the name of the Mons Tarpeius.[1] It was occupied by a colony, probably of Latin origin, which, according to the legend, had been founded by Saturn, and, from the name of its founder, had taken the name of Saturnia. Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates that this denomination existed already in the time when a colony

[1] Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, V. 41: "*Hic mons* (the Capitol) *ante Tarpeius dictus. . . .*" Dionys. of Halic., III. 69: "Τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον, ὃς τότε μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Ταρπήιος, νῦν δὲ Καπιτωλῖνος." Dion Cass., fragm. II. 8: "Ὁ Ταρπήιος λόφος μετωνομάσθη Καπιτωλῖνος." Tit. Liv., I. 55, says similarly that the temple of Jupiter was built on the Mons Tarpeius.

of Grecians led by Hercules, like the Arcadian colony which under Evander's leadership had occupied the Palatine, came and established themselves on the hill.[1] A few souvenirs of the ancient colony remained until a later period: the altar of Saturn, situated at the south-eastern extremity of the Forum, at the foot of the Capitol, near which was subsequently built a temple of the god; the name of Saturnii borne by the inhabitants of the region, and that of Saturnia, primitively given to the Pandana Gate opening on the southern side of the Capitol and giving access to the Area Capitolina.[2]

The name, Capitolium, applied to the whole of the Capitoline hill, does not seem to be anterior to the end of the monarchical epoch and the construction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. According to the legend first related by the historian Fabius Pictor, a human head (Caput) was discovered when the foundations of the temple were being dug; and, to commemorate the event, the name Capitolium[3] was given to the hill. The historical truth is simpler: the citadel peculiar to the Sabine colony of the Quirinal, which was situated on the northern edge of the hill, already bore the name Capitolium.[4] When the two colonies of the Palatine and the Quirinal amalgamated, by virtue of a treaty which tradition refers to the two kings Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Capitoline hill became the citadel, the military centre of the new City. At the end of the monarchical epoch, under the Tarquins, at the time of the erection of the temple of Jupiter, it became also the religious centre. On these double grounds, it assumed the name Capitolium, which appears to have been from the commencement an official appellation.

The name of Mons Tarpeius did not disappear; but its use

[1] Dionys. of Halic., I. 34: "Λόφον ἐπιτήδειον εὑρόντες . . . ὃς νῦν μὲν Καπιτωλῖνος ὀνομάζεται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τότ' ἀνθρώπων Σατούρνιος ἐλέγετο." These new-comers must chiefly have been from the Peloponnesus: "Τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν Πελοποννήσιοι, Φενεᾶταί τε καὶ Ἐπειωὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἤλιδος. . . ." Among them were also, according to legend, a certain number of Trojans (Dionys. of Halic., *loc. cit.*).

[2] Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, v. 42. Solin., I. 13: "*Castelli quoque quod excitaverunt portam appellaverunt Saturniam quae postmodum Pandana vocitata est.*"

[3] Fabius Pictor, fragm. 12. Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, V. 41: "*Capitolium dictum quod hic cum fundamenta foderentur aedis Jovis caput humanum dicitur inventum.*" Tit. Liv., I. 55: "*Caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse; quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat.*" Dionys. of Halic., IV. 59–61; Plutarch, *Camill.*, XXVI.; Dion Cass., fragm. II. 8.

[4] Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, V. 158: "*Clivus proximus a Flora susus*(?) *versus Capitolium Vetus, quod ibi sacellum Jovis, Junonis, Minervae, et id antiquius quam aedis quae in Capitolio facta.*" This sanctuary, thenceforward, took the name of Capitolium Vetus, in opposition to the new Capitol, and kept it till the end of the Empire. Martial, V. 22; VI. 27; VII. 73. *Notit.*, Reg. VI. Inscriptions: *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1887, p. 251. Ch. Huelsen, 1st *Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1899, pp. 252–254; *IIer Top. Jahresber.*, *id.*, 1891, pp. 103–104.

was restricted, and no longer serving to designate the whole of the hill, it was applied only to the rocky spur of the Saxum Tarpeium or Rupes Tarpeia, the Tarpeian Rock. From the time of the Republic, the northern summit of the Capitol, which was the citadel properly so called, is generally designated under the name Arx, the southern height under the name Capitolium.

In relation to the first nuclei of colonisation formed on the Roman soil, the situation of the Capitol was not central. The Roma Quadrata occupied only the Palatine and its immediate vicinity ; the seven-hilled city that succeeded it and into which, together with the two summits of the Palatine, the Cermalus and the Palatium, entered the Velian, the three brows of the Esquilian (Oppius, Cispius, Fagutal) and the valley of the Subura, did not include the Capitol.

At a later date, as far as can be made out by primitive legends, the Capitol properly so called and the colony of Saturnia seem to have been joined on to the Latin colony of the Palatine, whilst the Arx belonged to the Sabines of the Quirinal. Tradition preserved longer the memory of a house of the Sabine king Titus Tatius, situated on the Arx.[1] Romulus is said to have opened a place of refuge (asylum) in the hollow separating the two heights, and to have received numerous outlaws there ;[2] he is credited, too, with having surrounded the Capitol with a fortified wall.[3] Subsequently, as a commemoration of his victory over Acron, the king of the Caeninians, whom he had killed with his own hand, he mounted in triumph to the Capitol ; and, having consecrated at the top of the hill the first temple of Jupiter, that of Jupiter Feretrius, he hung up, in the *cella* of the god, the first *spolia opima*.[4]

The wars which were subsequently waged between the Latins of the Palatine and the Sabines of the Quirinal resulted in the Sabines temporarily occupying the Capitol. It was this event which gave rise to the legend of Tarpeia, daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, the officer in command of the citadel, whose treason was supposed to have delivered the fortress into the hands of the Sabines.[5] Once in possession of the Capitol, Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines, erected several votive sanctuaries in the vicinity of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in particular, those of

[1] Plutarch, *Romulus*, XVII. : "Ὤκει δὲ Τάτιος μὲν ὅπου νῦν ὁ τῆς Μονήτης ναός ἐστι." Solin., I. 21.
[2] Tit. Liv., I. 8 ; Dionys. of Halic., II. 15 ; Plutarch. *Romul.*, IX. ; Strab., V. 230 ; Ovid, *Fast.*, III. 429, 399.
[3] Dionys. of Halic., II. 37 : "Τοὺς παρακειμένους λόφους τόν τε Αὐεντῖνον καὶ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον νῦν λεγόμενον ἀποταφρεύων καὶ χαρακώμασι καρτεροῖς περιλαμβάνων."
[4] Tit. Liv., I. 10 ; Dionys. of Halic., II. 33-34.
[5] Tit, Liv., I. 11, 399 ; Dionys. of Halic., II. 38,

Terminus, of Juventas, and perhaps also that of Mars, which were destined to last until the end of the Empire.[1]

The treaty concluded between Romulus and Titus Tatius, which terminated the dissensions of the two peoples and gave equal powers to the two kings, opens a new era in the history of the Capitol.[2] Henceforward, the unity of the populations established in the centre of the Roman soil was an accomplished fact. The Capitol became the citadel of the town. The fortifications belonging to the hill were preserved and strengthened. It is to this period that may be assigned the fragment let into the wall of a house (No. 1) of the Via dell' Arco di Settimio, and formed of blocks of blackish tufa, similar to those of the Roma Quadrata of the Palatine.[3]

The topography of the Capitol was fixed for two centuries: to the north-east, the Arx with the Auguraculum, a place of observation for the Augurs; in the centre, the Asylum, with the two woods flanking it; to the south-west, the Capitol, with the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, enlarged by the king Ancus Marcius, the sanctuaries of Terminus, Juventas and Mars, the Pandana Gate,[4] which, doubtless in virtue of the treaty concluded between Romulus and Titus Tatius, was to remain always open, and the Tarpeian Rock.

The epoch of the Tarquins, decisive in the development of Rome, was equally so in the history of the Capitol. Their work as regards the latter may be said to comprise three essential parts.

1. The Capitol was joined on to the rest of the town by a series of important constructions.

Up to that time, communications between the Capitol and the Forum had been difficult. The Forum and the Velabrum region were still partially covered with marshes. There could hardly have been any carriage road giving access to the Capitol. Tarquin the Elder succeeded in draining the Forum and the Velabrum by building a network of sewers, the principal one being the Cloaca Maxima.[5] It was he, probably, who established a

[1] Tit. Liv., I. 55: "... *Sacella* ... *quae aliquot ibi a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversos Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerunt.*" See further on, p. 29, apropos of the construction of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

[2] Tit. Liv., I. 12; Dionys. of Halic., II. 50; Plutarch, *Romul.*, XIX.; Appianus, *Roman History*, I. fragm. 4; Serv., *ad Aeneid.*, VII. 709.

[3] R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 61; *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1890, p. 215.

[4] According to Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, V. 42, and Solin. I. 13 (cf. above, p. 4, note 1), the Pandana Gate was primitively called the Porta Saturnia. Festus, 363: "*Tantis postea in pace facienda cavit a Romulo ut ea Sabinis semper pateret*"; cf. Ep., 220: "*Pandana porta dicta est Romae quod semper pateret.*" Polyaen., VIII. 25; Dionys. of Halic., X. 14,

[5] Tit. Liv., I. 38–56; Dionys. of Halic., III. 67; IV. 44; Pliny. Hist. Nat., XXXVI. 106.

direct communication between the Capitol and the Forum by the Clivus Capitolinus, a road forming the natural prolongation of the Via Sacra, and by a series of winding paths, attaining successively to the Asylum and the summit of the Capitol properly so called.

The Forum, having become the chief market of the town, and the Capitol, being its citadel and on the way to become its religious centre, were thus closely connected together, and thenceforward were destined to have a common development and history.

2. The Capitol ceased to be an isolated citadel, and was made part of the defences of the town by the construction of the wall of Servius Tullius.

Until that time, the Capitol, in relation to the town, had played the rôle of an autonomous citadel. Servius Tullius, who succeeded Tarquin the Elder, included the hill in the belt that he built round Rome. All the northern front of the Capitol, that which faced the Campus Martius, became an integral portion of the new line of defence. The wall of Servius, which at this point replaced the ancient fortifications peculiar to the Arx and the Capitol, was built half-way up the hill on a platform artificially hewn out of the hill tufa. Some fragments of it have been discovered at various dates, notably on the northern flank of the Arx, in 1887,[1] 1889,[2] and 1892;[3] on the flank of the Capitol properly so called, in 1872 and 1892 (Via delle Tre Pile).[4] A sixth fragment exists, besides, on the northern edge of the hill, at the foot of the Palazzo Caffarelli. Towards the north, the Capitol presented a steep declivity. There was no direct communication between the Campus Martius and the top of the height; consequently, no gate was made in this part of the enclosure.

The defence of the Capitol was incorporated, on the one side, with that of the Quirinal, on the other with that of the Tiber. To the north-east, the wall of Servius deviated from the Arx, and, in order to reach the Quirinal, crossed the hollow separating the Arx from this hill; there the Ratumena Gate[5] was

[1] *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1887, p. 113; 1890, p. 215.

[2] *Id.*, 1890, p. 215; Ch. Huelsen, *IIer Topogr. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1891, p. 104.

[3] *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1892, p. 200; Ch. Huelsen, *IVer Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 287.

[4] R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 54; *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1873, p. 141; *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1890, p. 215; 1892, p. 229 (cf. Ch. Huelsen, *IVer Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 287).

[5] Legend relates that a certain Ratumena, who had won a chariot race at Veii, was run away with by his horses and thrown out of his chariot at the foot of the Capitol, at the place which bears his name. Festus, p. 274; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII. 161; Solin., XLV. 15; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIII. after Valerius Antias. See further on, p. 32.

situated. To the south-west, the wall ran in the direction of the Tiber, which it reached opposite the southern extremity of the isle. In this part of the enclosure there were two gates: at the foot of the Capitol, the Porta Carmentalis,[1] on the road connecting the Forum Boarium with the Forum Holitorium; and the Porta Flumentana,[2] on the road skirting the river-bank.

Although protected, towards the north, by the wall of Servius, the Capitol preserved in the direction of the Forum its own fortifications. It continued to be the citadel of the town and, thereafter, formed a second line of defence behind the first.

3. The Capitol became the religious centre of the city.

Tarquin the Elder, in the course of the war against the Sabines, vowed a temple to the triad Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This temple was erected on the Capitol, and became the centre of the Roman national worship. The building required enormous preparatory work. The top of the Capitol had to be levelled, a vast artificial platform had to be constructed, and the sides of the hill had to be consolidated. These preparatory tasks were pursued in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. The edifice was not completed until 509 B.C. (245 ab urbe conditâ), the year following the expulsion of the kings.

The completion of the Clivus Capitolinus, intended to form the main approach to the temple, was the last and crowning accomplishment in the construction of the triumphal Via Sacra.

At the close of the monarchical period, the primitive appearance of the Capitol had already undergone a profound transformation. The summit of the hill was covered with a broad esplanade, the Area Capitolina, communicating directly with the Forum by the Clivus Capitolinus and studded with monuments: in the centre stood the large temple of Jupiter; around it were the ancient temple of Jupiter Feretrius, the temple of Fides, and the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, which latter two had been built, according to tradition, the first by Numa, the second by Servius Tullius; there was, no doubt, too, the Curia Calabra, the meeting-place of the Calata Comitia during the first centuries of the Republic.[3]

The Arx, whose defences had been strengthened by the construction of the wall of Servius, was the citadel properly so

[1] The Porta Carmentalis was at the foot of the Capitol (Dionys. of Halic., I. 32: "Ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Καπιτωλίῳ"), not far from the altar of the nymph Carmenta; Solin., I. 13: "*Pars etiam infima Capitolini montis habitaculum Carmentae fuit, ubi Carmentis nunc fanum est, a qua Carmentali portae nomen datum.*" Tit. Liv., XXIV. 47; XXVII. 37; Ovid, *Fast.*, II. 201; Festus, 285; *Ep.*, 335: Serv., *ad Aeneid.*, VIII. 337.

[2] Varro, *de Re Rustica*, III. 2; Cicero, *ad Attic.*, VII. 3, 9; Tit. Liv., VI. 20; XXXV. 21; Festus, p. 89: "*Flumentana porta Romae appellata quod Tiberis partem ea fluxisse affirmant.*"

[3] On these various buildings see further, pp. 29, 30, 43.

called; the Capitol, in consequence of the great works executed by the Tarquins, had become more especially the religious centre of the Roman city.

In the retrograde period that Rome passed through after the expulsion of the kings and the proclamation of the Republic, the military, political, and religious importance of the Capitol steadily increased.

The Capitol played a great rôle in the wars waged by Rome for the defence of her territory, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and in the internal dissensions that accompanied the

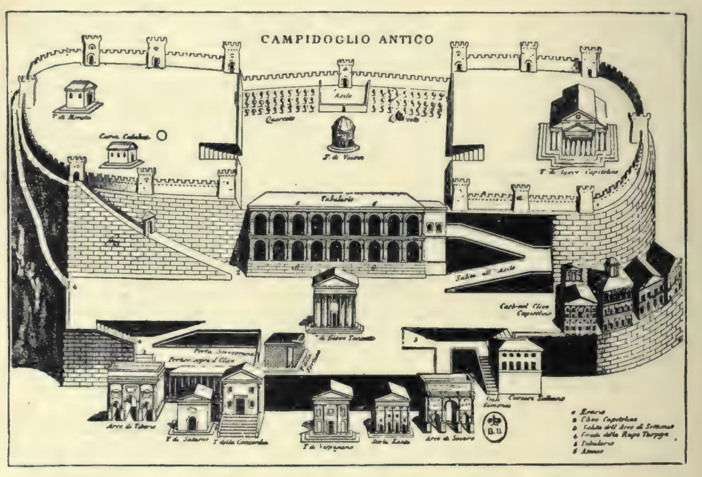


FIG. I.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENT CAPITOL, ACCORDING TO THE ARBITRARY RECONSTITUTION OF NARDINI. (*Roma antica.*)

struggle of the two orders. In 491 B.C. (263 ab urbe conditâ), when Coriolanus marched on Rome with a Volscian army, the Capitol was put into a state of defence.[1] In 471 B.C. (283 ab urbe conditâ), under the consulate of Appius Claudius Sabinus and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, an insurrection broke out against the consul Appius: the plebs occupied the Capitol,[2] the steep side of which commanded the Forum and the Comitium, and only consented to evacuate it on the intervention of the Senate. In 460 B.C. (294 ab urbe conditâ) the Sabine Herdonius, with a

[1] Dionys. of Halic., VIII. 22.

[2] Dionys. of Halic., IX. 48.

body of four thousand men, descended the Tiber and took the Capitol by surprise, as well as the Arx. Three days after, the Romans, under the leadership of the consul Lucius Valerius Publicola, mounted to the assault, along the Clivus Capitolinus, and succeeded in re-occupying the citadel.[1] In 450 B.C. (304 ab urbe conditâ) the decemvir Appius Claudius told the plebeians that a fortress like the Capitol was not solely intended to serve against outside enemies.[2] A little later, discovery was made of a conspiracy of certain slaves, who wished to seize the Capitol, with a view to freeing the whole body of their fellows.[3]

The chief episode in the military history of the Capitol, during the first three centuries of the Republic, was the siege by the Gauls in 390 B.C. (364 ab urbe conditâ). The Romans, who had been seized with panic at the battle of the Allia, had not even thought of defending the wall of Servius. The Gauls penetrated, unmolested, into the town. The Capitol became the centre of the resistance. In spite of all their efforts, the Gauls failed to storm the citadel ; and the legend about the geese of the Capitol records the fact of this failure. However, they reduced the defenders by famine and forced them to pay a ransom.

In proportion as Rome extended her conquests in Italy, the Capitoline citadel necessarily lost some of its importance. The assault of the Gauls was the last attack by foreigners that the Capitol had to sustain.

The patrician State, which, in 509 B.C. (245 ab urbe conditâ) had replaced the monarchy, continued the work of transformation in the Capitol undertaken by the Tarquins.—The temple of Jupiter was solemnly consecrated in 509 B.C. (245 ab urbe conditâ) by the consul M. Horatius Pulvillus.[4] The political and religious life of the Capitol received a fresh impetus.

It was in the Capitol that, at the commencement of each year, the Senate held their first sitting ;[5] and they assembled there, also, on other occasions of exceptional importance. In 340 B.C. (414 ab urbe conditâ) they gave audience in it to the envoys of the revolted Latins ;[6] in 189 B.C. (565 ab urbe conditâ) they handed there to Antipater, son of king Antiochus,

[1] On the surprising of the Capitol by Herdonius we read in Tit. Liv., III. 15-18 : "*Exules servique ad duo millia hominum et quingenti duce Appio Herdonio Sabino nocte Capitolium atque arcem occupavere.*" Dionys. of Halic., X. 14 : "Πλεύσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Καπιτωλίον ἔστιν . . . Ἀναβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν εἷλε τὸ φρούριον, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ὠσάμενος. ἔστι δὲ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσεχής. κἀκείνης ἐγεγόνει κύριος."

[2] Dionys. of Halic., XI. 35. [3] Dionys. of Halic., XII. fragm 6.

[4] Tit. Liv., II. 8 ; VII. 3 ; Polyb., III. 22 ; Dionys. of Halic., V. 35 ; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIV. ; Valer. Maxim., V. 10. 1 ; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72.

[5] Tit. Liv., XXII. 1 : XXIII. 31 ; XXIV. 10 ; XXVI. 1 ; XXVIII. 39 ; XXX. 27 ; XXXII. 8, &c Cf. Sueton., *Aug.*, XXVI. [6] Tit. Liv., VIII. 5.

the treaty signed with Rome.[1]—The magistrates, when entering on their functions, proceeded in state to the Capitol, and offered there a sacrifice to Jupiter;[2] and thence it was that they started when quitting Rome, in order to go and put themselves at the head of their army or take possession of their province.[3]

The Calata Comitia met at the beginning of each month, in the Curia Calabra.—The plebs frequently held their "Concilia" on the Area Capitolina, especially in the second century B.C., 196, 195, 169, 167, &c. (558, 559, 585, 587 ab urbe condità).[4] It was there that Tiberius Gracchus was killed in 133 B.C. (621 ab urbe condità).[5] The originals of treaties signed by Rome with foreign peoples were deposited in the office of the Aediles, near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[6]

It was at the Capitol that the consuls proceeded to the annual levies, and to the putting of the military oath. A red flag, raised over the Arx, announced to the city that the ceremony was terminated.[7] At the same spot, likewise, the young men, on attaining their sixteenth year, solemnly assumed the toga.[8]

The Capitol was the place of execution for crimes of the most serious kind: traitors or those who were convicted of aiming at tyrannical power (as, for instance, Manlius Capitolinus, in 384 B.C. (370 ab urbe condità), those who had committed incest, &c., were thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.

And at the Capitol, also, were celebrated two of the most important religious manifestations in Roman life, the Processions and the Triumphs.

Each year, on the day of the Ludi Romani, the Procession (pompa) was formed at the temple of Jupiter. The statues of the gods were placed on cars (thensae) and solemnly conducted along the Clivus Capitolinus and the Via Sacra to the Great Circus, where they were exhibited. When the games were finished, the gods were brought back to the Capitol and reinstated in their sanctuaries.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the terminal point of the Triumphs.[9] The victor went to thank Jupiter and pay him

[1] Tit. Liv., XXXVII. 55.
[2] Tit. Liv., XXII. 1; Sueton., *Aug.*, XXVI.
[3] Tit. Liv., XXI. 63; XLI. 10; XLII. 49.
[4] Tit. Liv., XXXIII. 35; XXXIV. 1; XLIII. 16; XLV. 36, &c.
[5] Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.*, XIX.—XX.; Appian., *Civil War*, I. 16; Oros., V. 9.
[6] Polyb., III. 26: "*Παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ταμιείῳ.*"
[7] Tit. Liv., XXXII. 15; Polyb., VI. 19; Macrob., *Saturn.*, I. 16. 15; Festus, *Ep.*, 103; Serv., *ad Aeneid.*, VIII. 1.
[8] Serv., *ad Eclog.*, IV. 50.
[9] The Triumphs of Camillus, 390 B.C. (364 ab urbe condità), over the Gauls, of Papirius Cursor, 324, 319, 309, 293 B.C. (430, 435, 445, 461 ab urbe condità), over the Samnites, of Fabricius, 282 B.C. (472 ab urbe condità) and 278 B.C. (476 ab urbe

homage for the victories gained through his protection; he offered a solemn sacrifice, and presented the god with rich gifts. The Capitol thus came to be directly associated with the development of Roman greatness. Each conquest, each extension of the Empire, had its official consecration at the Capitol.

Concurrently with its political and religious development was pursued the architectural transformation of the Capitol.—At the commencement of the Republic, there were still numerous private houses on the spot. Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates that in 460 B.C. (294 ab urbe conditâ), when the Sabine Herdonius surprised the Capitol, those of the inhabitants who had not been slain fled from their houses or barricaded themselves inside.[1]

Manlius Capitolinus, the defender of the Capitol against the Gauls in 390 B.C. (364 ab urbe conditâ), possessed a house on the Arx.[2] After the retreat of the Gauls, the Senate established the Ludi Capitolini or Capitoline games in commemoration of the event; and entrusted the organisation of them to the inhabitants of the hill, constituting the said inhabitants into a College.[3] When Manlius was put to death for high treason, in 384 B.C. (370 ab urbe conditâ), his house was razed; and a law passed in the same year forbade the patricians to dwell either on the Capitol or on the Arx.[4] During the last three centuries of the Republic, the various private houses were gradually replaced by public buildings.

The grounds situated at the foot of the Capitol, in the direction of the Campus Martius and the Forum Boarium, were

conditâ), and of Curius Dentatus, 290, 275 B.C. (464, 479 ab urbe conditâ), over the Lucanians, the Tarentines and Pyrrhus, mark the definitive conquest of Italy by Rome; those of Appius Claudius, 264 B.C. (490 ab urbe conditâ), of Lutatius Catulus, 241 B.C. (513 ab urbe conditâ), and of Scipio Africanus, 201 B.C. (553 ab urbe conditâ), mark the fall of Carthage; those of Flaminius, 194 B.C. (560 ab urbe conditâ), over Macedonia, of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, 189 B.C. (565 ab urbe conditâ), over Antiochus, of Fulvius Nobilior, 187 B.C. (567 ab urbe conditâ), over the Aetolians, of Paullus Aemilius, 167 B.C. (587 ab urbe conditâ), and of Metellus, 146 B.C. (608 ab urbe conditâ), over Macedonia, of Mummius, 145 B.C. (609 ab urbe conditâ), over Greece, of Scipio Aemilianus, 146 B.C. (608 ab urbe conditâ), over Carthage, of Metellus, 106 B.C. (648 ab urbe conditâ), over Jugurtha, of Marius, 101 B.C. (653 ab urbe conditâ), over the Cimbri and the Teutons, of Sylla, 81 B.C. (673 ab urbe conditâ), and of Lucullus, 63 B.C. (691 ab urbe conditâ), over Mithridates, of Pompey, 61 B.C. (693 ab urbe conditâ), over the East, of Caesar, 46 B.C. (708 ab urbe conditâ), over Gaul, of Octavian, 29 B.C. (725 ab urbe conditâ), over Egypt, mark the submission to Rome of the basin of the Mediterranean.

[1] Dionys. of Halic., X. 15: "...*Τὰ τέγη τῶν οἰκιῶν κατεῖχον ἅμα γυναιξίν, ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀγωνιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσεληλυθότας.*"

[2] Tit. Liv., VI. 20; VII. 28; the house of Manlius Capitolinus was on the site later occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta and the Mint. Plutarch, *Camill.*, XXXVI.

[3] Tit. Liv., V. 50. Cf, C.I.L., I. 805.

[4] Tit. Liv., VI. 20: "*Ne quis patricius in Arce aut Capitolio habitaret*"; Plutarch, *Camill.*, XXXVI.

public property; they were occupied by the religious fraternities of the Pontiffs, the Augurs, the Decemvirs, and the Flamens. In 88 B.C. (666 ab urbe conditâ), at the time of the war against Mithridates, Sylla took possession of these grounds and sold them, in order to procure the State the resources it lacked.[1] The quarter then began to be built upon by private persons, whose houses remained until the end of the Empire.

In the last century of the Republic, the general topography of the Capitol was the following:—On the Arx stood the temples of Juno Moneta, with the factories of the Mint, the temples of Vejovis and Concord. The wall of Servius was everywhere falling to decay. The Asylum, at the time, restricted and separated from the Forum by the bulk of the Tabularium, contained but one edifice, the sanctuary of Vejovis. An enclosure, fenced with a wall (Locus Saeptus), recalled the site where Romulus had once opened his refuge. On the Capitol, round the large temple of Jupiter, were grouped the temples of Jupiter Feretrius, of Fides, of Mens, and of Venus Erycina, as also of Ops, together with the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia and a large number of monuments (statues, dedicatory bases . . .), which will be spoken of further.—Some private houses still remained, especially on the sides of the hill and on the slopes that, from the Asylum, gave access to the Capitol and the Arx.

Imperial Period.

From the administrative point of view, the Capitol had continued to be outside of the four regions of Servius, which made up the city properly so called. This state of things still persisted at the commencement of the Empire, when Augustus replaced the old division by a larger organisation and created the fourteen regions. The Capitol, together with the ancient Forum and the imperial Fora, formed the eighth region.[2]

[1] Appian, *Mith.*, 22; Oros., V. 18: "*Loca publica quae in circuitu Capitolii pontificibus, auguribus, decemviris et flaminibus in possessionem tradita erant, cogente inopia vendita sunt.*"

[2] The Regionaries of the fourth century mention in the eighth region: "*Rostra III. Genium Populi Romani Aureum et Equum Constantani. Senatum. Atrium Minervae. Forum Caesaris. Augusti. Nervae. Trajani. Templum divi Trajani et columnam cochlidem. Cohortem VI Vigilum. Basilicam Argentariam. Templum Concordiae. Umbilicum Romae. Templum Saturni et Vespasiani et Titi. Capitolium. Miliarium Aureum. Basilicam Juliam. Templum Castorum. Vestam, Horrea Germaniciana et Agrippiana. Aquam cernentem. IV Scaros sub Aede. Atrium Caci. Vicum Jugarium et Unguentarium. Graecostadium. Porticum Margaritariam. Elefantum Herbarium.*" It should be remarked that in this enumeration none of the numerous edifices of the Capitol are expressly mentioned.

Although the fortifications of the Capitol had fallen into ruins, the hill, by virtue of its commanding situation and its proximity to the centre of the city, had not lost all its military importance. The events which happened in Rome, in 69 A.D., after Nero's death, recalled the period of the struggle of the two orders.[1] The partisans of Vespasian, with Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, at their head, threw themselves into the Capitol. The troops of Vitellius, drawn up in a column on the Clivus Capitolinus, mounted to the assault. From the top of the Capitol and the portico skirting the Clivus, the soldiers of Sabinus rained down on the assailants a storm of projectiles, barricaded the gate that gave access to the Area Capitolina and succeeded in repulsing them. The besiegers then changed their tactics. Renouncing the frontal attack, they attempted two flanking movements, a northern one, on the side of the Asylum, where the private houses built in tiers on the slope of the Capitol favoured their attack, and a southern one, along the staircase of the Centum Gradus. This double assault succeeded. The Capitol was captured. Sabinus and the greater number of his partisans were slaughtered. During the battle, several of the edifices covering the Area Capitolina, the temple of Jupiter in particular, were destroyed by fire.[2]

Under the Empire, the Senate continued to hold meetings in the Capitol on solemn occasions. The temple of Jupiter was still the scene of numerous triumphs, in which the victors were no longer consuls, but emperors. The most brilliant were those of Augustus, after the conquest of Egypt ; of Claudius, after the conquest of Britain ; of Vespasian and Titus, after the repression of the Jews' revolt ; of Hadrian, who celebrated a triumph for the victories gained by Trajan ; of Marcus Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus, conquerors of the Parthians and Germans ; of Caracalla; of Alexander Severus ; and of Aurelian, the last of whom, by a luxurious triumph in which figured as prisoners Tetricus, the emperor of Gaul, and Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, consecrated the reconstitution of the Imperial Unity.

The emperors raised new edifices on the Capitol. At several different times, notably after the two great fires of 69 A.D.,[3] under Vitellius, and of 80 A.D., under Titus,[4] they repaired or rebuilt the older ones.

Augustus rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius[5] (about 31 B.C., 723 ab urbe conditâ), and erected on the Area Capitolina

[1] With reference to these events, see especially Tacitus, *Histories*, III. 71, and Suetonius, *Vitellius*, XV.
[2] Tac., *Hist.*, III. 71. Cf. Sueton., *Vitell.*, XV.
[3] See further, pp. 33–34.
[4] Sueton., *Tit.*, VIII. ; Dion Cass., LXVI. 24.
[5] *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4. 5 ; Cornel. Nepos, *Attic.*, XX. ; Tit. Liv., IV. 20.

two new temples consecrated to Jupiter Tonans[1] (32 B.C., 722 ab urbe conditâ) and to Mars Ultor[2] (20 B.C., 734 ab urbe conditâ); in 9 B.C. (745 ab urbe conditâ) he repaired the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had been injured by lightning.[3]

Germanicus dedicated trophies, near the temple of Fides,[4] in commemoration of his victories over the Germans.

Caligula undertook the construction of a palace on the Area Capitolina,[5] but the work was never finished by him.

Claudius raised an altar to Jupiter Soter,[6] on the Area: and Nero raised a triumphal arch and dedicated trophies,[7] in the Asylum, to commemorate the victories of Corbulo over the Parthians. In 55 A.D. the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was struck by lightning.[8]

Vespasian rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, after its destruction by fire in 69 A.D.[9]

Under Titus, in 80 A.D., the temple of Jupiter was burnt for the third time.[10] Domitian rebuilt it with magnificence, in 81 and 82 A.D.;[11] and, four years later, instituted an Agon Capitolinus, games which were to be celebrated every four years.[12] Before his accession to the imperial throne, he raised a sanctuary to Jupiter Conservator, which was subsequently transformed into a temple of Jupiter Custos.[13] In 82 A.D. also, there was something said of a tribunal of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, situated on the Capitol.[14]

Hadrian built an audience hall, the Athenaeum,[15] to which was annexed a library, and Marcus Aurelius, a Sanctuary of Beneficence.[16]

The last dated monument mentioned in records is the statue of Claudius the Gothic,[17] which was raised after his death, at the beginning of 270 A.D., by decree of the Senate.

[1] *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4. 5; Sueton., *Aug.*, XXVIII., XCI.
[2] Dion Cass., XLV. 8.
[3] *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4. 9.
[4] C.I.L., III., pp. 856, 857 (Military diplomas of the year 86), Nos. XIII., XIV.
[5] Sueton., *Calig.*, XXII.: "*In area Capitolina novae domus fundamenta jecit.*"
[6] Phlegon., *Mirab.*, VI.; Serv., *ad Aeneid.*, VIII. 651.
[7] Tac., *Ann.*, XIII. 41; XV. 18.
[8] Tac., *Ann.*, XIII. 24.
[9] Tac., IV. 53; Dion Cass., LXVI. 10; Sueton., *Vespas.*, VIII.; Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, 9. 7; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.; *Chronicles of St. Jerome, ad ann. Abrah.*, 2089.
[10] Dion Cass., LXVI. 24; Sueton., *Domit.*, VIII.; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.
[11] Sueton., *Domit.*, V.; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.
[12] Censor., 18. 15; Sueton., *Domit.*, IV.; Stat., *Silv.*, V. 3. 281; Martial, VI., 387, &c.
[13] Tac., *Hist.*, III. 74; Sueton., *Domit.*, V.
[14] C.I.L., III., pp. 1960, 1961. (Military diplomas of the year 82 A.D., *in Tribunali Caesarum Vespasiani Titi Domitiani*, and 86, *in tribunali*).
[15] Dion Cass., LXXIII, 17; Aurel. Vict., *Caesar*, 14. 3, 4.
[16] Dion Cass., LXXI. 34.
[17] *Vita Claud.*, III. 4.

At the opening of the fourth century, the Capitol was entirely covered with civil and religious edifices. The evolution period was at an end, and the period of decay was at hand. This is, therefore, a favourable moment for studying in its details the topography of the Capitoline hill.

Topography of the Capitol.

approaches to it.

Considered in its relations to the rest of the city, the Capitol, both topographically and historically, made up a distinctly characterised aggregate. It was not a mere quarter of private houses, as most quarters were, or yet of imperial palaces, like the Palatine. From the commencement of the Republic, the tendency had been for private houses to become less numerous. Those that remained were found only on the sides of the hill towards the Velabrum and the Campus Martius, or on the slopes of the Capitol and the Arx, towards the Asylum. The Regionaries of the fourth century mention for the eighth region, which, besides the Capitol, comprised the whole of the Fora, 34 vici, 3,486 insulae, and 130 domi. The Capitol, the Arx, and the greater portion of the Asylum were occupied by numerous public edifices, both civil and religious.

The Capitol, placed as a barrier between the plain of the Campus Martius to the north-west, the Forum Boarium, the Velabrum, and the Forum to the south-east and south, and being a sheer declivity everywhere on the north side, as well as almost everywhere on the south, was not a thoroughfare. Traffic was compelled to go round the two ends of the hill. To the south, the road was used which, deviating from the Forum Boarium, crossed the wall of Servius at the Porta Carmentalis, reached the Forum Holitorium, and, passing between the theatre of Marcellus and the Minucia portico, led to the Campus Martius. This street, which corresponded to the Via della Bocca della Verità of to-day, was the most ancient and the most easy line of communication between the regions situated on the two flanks of the Capitol.

At the north-eastern extremity of the Capitol, between the Arx and the Quirinal, there was, during the periods of the monarchy and the Republic, nothing but a series of steep, narrow streets winding round the side of the two hills. The creation of the imperial Fora, for which Caesar was primarily responsible, transformed all this quarter. Then seems to have been established the Clivus Argentarius (Via di Marforio of

to-day), intended to connect the Forum with the Campus Martius. But this road soon ceased to be adequate to the requirements of a circulation and traffic that increased continually. By the construction of his Forum, Trajan opened up between the two quarters a new, broad road which was easily accessible. Trajan's column indicated by its dimensions the height of the neck of land which the emperor had had razed.

Communication between the two roads that ran round the Capitol at the two ends was secured by the two parallel roads of the Vicus Jugarius and the Vicus Tuscus, which joined the main road of the Forum—the Via Sacra—to the Tiber.

On the north-west there was no direct communication between the summit of the Capitol and the plain of the Campus Martius situated at its foot. All the approaches to the Capitol were on the south-east, towards the Forum. This was a consequence both of the topographical features of the place and of the hill's historical development. The only point at which the hill did not run sheer down was on the south-east, in the direction of the Asylum. On the other hand, at the time when the Capitol had become the citadel of the town, the plain of the Campus Martius was not populated. The town in its entirety extended to the south and east. The Forum had already become the centre and the great mart of the new city. It was, therefore, natural that Tarquin should establish on that side the principal approach to the Capitol, viz., the Clivus Capitolinus.

From the end of the monarchical period the approaches to the Capitol were three in number: only one of these, the Clivus Capitolinus, was accessible to carriages; the two others were staircases hewn out of the tufa of the hill. Their names were Scalae Gemoniae and Gradus Monetae, on the Arx; Centum Gradus, on the Capitol.

The Clivus Capitolinus,[1] which was the road used for processions and triumphs, deviated from the Via Sacra, of which it was the natural prolongation, beyond the temple of Saturn. The difference of level (thirty-seven and a half yards) existing between the Forum and the summit of the Capitol had necessitated the adoption of a winding route for the Clivus. It passed first between the temple of Saturn, on the one hand, the temple of Vespasian and the portico of the Dii Consentes, on the other, parallel to the front of the Tabularium; then it bent at right angles in the direction of the south-to-north, skirted the Tabularium, which it bounded to the north-west, and reached

[1] Tit. Liv., XLI. 27. 7; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XIX. 23; Tacit., *Hist*, III. 71; Cicero, *pro Sest.*, XXVIII.; *post Redit.*, XII.; *pro Milon.*, LXIV.; *Philipp.*, II. 16. 19; *ad Attic.*, II. 1. 6; Festus, p. 344; Servius, *ad Aeneid.*, II. 116; VIII. 319.

the Asylum at the point where the present Via del Campidoglio issues. Thence, it led to the Area Capitolina, by following a direction similar to that of the staircase which to-day gives communication between the Piazza del Campidoglio and the Via di Monte Tarpeio.

About the middle of the Clivus Capitolinus there was a blind alley (angiportus) where, each year, on the 17th from the Kalends of July (15th of June), was solemnly deposited the sacred dung from the temple of Vesta. This blind alley was closed by a gate, the Porta Stercoraria.[1] Further on, stood two triumphal arches, the one dedicated in 190 B.C. (564 ab urbe conditâ) by Scipio Africanus, and ornamented with seven gilded statues, with two marble fountain-basins in front,[2] the other, the Fornix Calpurnius, which probably dated back to the same time.[3]

In the last portion of its course, the Clivus was adorned with a portico that had been constructed in 174 B.C. (580 ab urbe conditâ), when certain improvements (paving, &c.) were carried out by the censors P. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus; this portico extended to the level of the Area Capitolina.[4] Towards the Forum were also to be found, in the last century of the Republic, a few private houses, notably that of Milo, the adversary of Clodius.[5]

The Scalae Gemoniae[6] deviated from the Comitium on the south of the Carcer, and reached the Asylum, as it would seem, a little to the north-east of the Via dell' Arco di Settimio of to-day, to which this staircase was parallel. From the Asylum, another staircase, the Gradus Monetae,[7] a prolongation of the preceding one, led to the summit of the Arx. In the time of the Republic, and, still, under the Empire, the bodies of condemned persons, after their execution, were exposed on the Scalae Gemoniae: Sejanus and his family, under Tiberius, Sabinus and Vitellius, killed in 69 A.D., were exposed there.[8]

[1] Festus, 344: "*Stercus ex aede Vestae, XVII Kal. Jul. defertur in angiportum medium fere clivi Capitolini, qui locus clauditur porta Stercoraria*"; *id.*, 258; Varro, *de Ling. Latin.*, VI. 32. [2] Tit. Liv., XXXVII. 3. 7.

[3] Orosius, V. 9, relates that Tiberius Gracchus was killed while fleeing from the Area Capitolina, by the staircase above the Fornix Calpurnius: "*per gradus qui sunt super Calpurnium fornicem.*"

[4] Tit. Liv., XLI. 27: "*Clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium . . . fecerunt.*" Tac., *Hist.*, III. 71 (date 69): "*Erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi dextrae subeuntibus.*"

[5] Cicero, *pro Milon.*, XXIV. 64.

[6] Valer. Max., VI. 3. 3; IX. 13; Tac., *Ann.* III. 14; VI. 4. 31; *Hist.*, III. 74. 85; Sueton., *Tiber.*, LIII., LXI., LXXV.; *Vitell.*, XVII.; Dion Cass., LVIII. 1. 5. 11. 16; LXV. 21; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, VIII. 146, employs the expression: *gemitorii gradus.*

[7] The Gradus Monetae are mentioned only by one text of Ovid, *Fast.*, I. 638: "*Quae fert sublimes alta Moneta Gradus.*"

[8] Sejanus and his family: Tacit., *Ann.*, VI. 4; Dion Cass., LVIII. 5. Sabinus: Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 74. Vitellius: Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 85; Sueton., *Vitell.*, XVII.

The Centum Gradus, situated at the southern extremity of the Capitol, placed the quarter of the Forum Boarium in communication with the Area Capitolina.[1] In 69 A.D., the soldiers of Vitellius, repulsed in their frontal attack along the Clivus Capitolinus, climbed the Centum Gradus, in order to penetrate into the enclosure of the Capitol.[2]

Conformably to the general topography of the hill and to the connecting links between it and the Forum, the edifices of the Capitol were mostly turned to the south-east. This was notably the case with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and with the Tabularium, which latter occupied on that side the whole front of the Asylum.

Processions going from the temple of Jupiter to the Great Circus, triumphs on their way to the Capitol, passed along the entire extent of the Forum. The Via Sacra, continued by the Clivus Capitolinus, was essentially the road of the Capitol.

The Arx.

The Arx, which was the old Capitoline citadel, preserved until the last century of the Republic a real military importance.

On account of its special character, and also of the limited extent of the ground, the edifices which were built on it were but few in number. We know of none whose construction was posterior to the end of the second century B.C.

The only edifices mentioned in historic records are the temples of Juno Moneta, Concord, and Vejovis, built under the Republic, and the Auguraculum which, according to tradition, dates back to the monarchical epoch.

The temple of Juno Moneta was at once the most important and the most ancient of the edifices of the Arx. This temple had been vowed in 344 B.C. (410 ab urbe conditâ), in the course of a war against the Aurunci, by the dictator L. Furius Camillus.[3] The dedication took place in 343 B.C. (411 ab urbe conditâ),[4] on the day of the Kalends of June (1st of June).[5] The temple stood on the northern portion of the Arx,[6] on the site said to be that of the ancient house of Manlius Capitolinus, which was razed in 384 B.C. (370 ab urbe conditâ) by decree of

[1] Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71: "*Diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt juxta lucum Asyli et qua Tarpeia Rupes centum gradibus aditur.*" The Centum Gradus were almost on the site of the staircase which to-day gives access from the Via dei Saponari to the Via di Monte Tarpeio. Cf. p. 66, note 3.

[2] Tit. Liv., VII. 28; Ovid, *Fast.*, VI. 183, 599; Macrob., *Saturn.*, I. 12. 30.

[3] *Id.* [4] *Id.*: "*Anno postquam vota erat aedes Monetae dedicatur.*"

[5] *Calendr. Venous.*, the day of the Kalends of June (C.I.L., I[2]. p. 21).

[6] Ovid, *Fast.*, *loc. cit.*: "*In summa Arce.*"

the Senate.[1] Legend related that the epithet Moneta was of posterior origin, and that it commemorated a counsel (monere) given to the Romans by Juno, at the time of the war which was urged against Tarentum, about 272 B.C. (482 ab urbe conditâ).[2] Three years later, in 269 B.C. (485 ab urbe conditâ), when Rome began to coin silver money, the factory was established in the dependent outbuildings of the temple of Juno,[3] and was destined to remain there until the end of the first century B.C. (probably under Nerva's reign), at which date it was removed and transferred to the imperial Mint of the Caelius. The temple of Juno Moneta seems to have been struck by lightning at the end of the second century, 115 B.C. (639 ab urbe conditâ) ;[4] and, in consequence of this fire, it was repaired and perhaps rebuilt. The records give no precise indication as to the fact. The temple of Juno Moneta must have disappeared at an early period, for no traces of it have been found.

The temple of Concord, a hundred and twenty-three years posterior to the temple of Juno Moneta, had been vowed in 221 B.C. (553 ab urbe conditâ), by the praetor L. Manlius, on the occasion of a mutiny that had broken out in the army, in Gaul, and that he had succeeded in quelling.[5] The works of construction, distributed in 220 B.C. (534 ab urbe conditâ) by the duumvirs C. Pupius and C. Quinctius Flaminius, were finished two years after.[6] The dedication took place on the day of the Nones of February (5th of February), 218 B.C. (536 ab urbe conditâ), under the direction of the duumvirs M. and C. Atilii.[7] Annual sacrifices were offered in it on the 5th of February, the anniversary of the dedication.[8]

The temple of Vejovis was vowed in 196 B.C. (558 ab urbe conditâ) by the consul L. Furius Purpureo, and was dedicated

[1] Tit. Liv., VII. 28.

[2] Several traditions existed in Rome as to the nature of the counsel given by Juno: Cicero, *De Divin.*, I. 45. 101 : "*Scriptum a multis est, cum terrae motus factus esset, ut sua plena procuratio fieret, vocém ab aede Junonis ex arce exstitisse: quo circa Junonem illam appellatam Monetam.*" (Cf. II. 32. 69.) Suidas on the word **Μονῆτα** ; the Romans, lacking money at the time of the war against Pyrrhus and Tarentum, implored Juno, who replied to them : "Εἰ τῶε ὅπλων ἀνθέξονται μετὰ δικαιοσύνης, χρήματα αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐπιλείψειν· τυχόντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐτίμησαν Ἥραν Μονῆταν τουτέστι σύμβουλον, τὸ νόμισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτῆς νομίσαντες χαράττασθαι."

[3] Tit. Liv., VI. 20 : "*Ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est.*"

[4] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, II. 144 : "*Tacta Junonis aede Romae, Scauro consule qui mox princeps fuit.*"

[5] Tit. Liv., XXII. 33. 7 : "*In religionem etiam venit, aedem Concordiae quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset locatam ad id tempus non esse.*"

[6] *Id.*: "*Duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbis C. Pupius et Casso Quinctius Flamininus aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.*"

[7] *Id.*, XXIII. 21. 7 : "*Duumviri creati M. et C. Atilii aedem Concordiae quam C. Manlius praetor voverat dedicaverunt.*"

[8] *Calendr. Prenest.*, the dav of the Nones of February.

four years later, in 192 B.C. (562 ab urbe conditâ).[1] In the cella was a statue of Vejovis, in cypress wood, which Pliny the Elder mentioned in the time of the Flavians.[2]

These two sanctuaries of Concord and Vejovis must have been of somewhat small dimensions. Their exact site cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. It is, however, probable that the temple of Concord was on the southern side of the Arx, in proximity to the great temple of Concord situated at the north-east extremity of the Forum.

To the south of the temple of Juno Moneta extended the Auguraculum.[3] The ground, which towards the south rose above the hollow of the Forum, and from where a comprehensive view could be obtained of the amphitheatre of hills formed by the Palatine, the Aventine, the Caelian, the Esquilian, and the Quirinal, offered a wide prospect to the observations of the Augurs. The Auguraculum properly so called, which was, no doubt, a hut[4] similar to the cabins of Romulus piously preserved on the Capitol and the Palatine, stood in the midst of a grassy esplanade. There grew the sacred vervain which was solemnly sent to the Fetiales, whose function it was to declare war in the name of the Roman people.[5]

Of the ancient fortifications peculiar to the Arx, towards the Forum, there remains but a fragment let into a wall of the Via dell' Arco di Settimio (No. 1); the construction is identical with that of the primitive Palatine enclosing wall.[6] The part of the wall of Servius which coincided with the contours of the Arx had almost entirely disappeared at the imperial epoch. There remained only a few fragments, utilised as foundations or sustaining walls. Three of these fragments were discovered during the works carried out for the monument to Victor-Emmanuel: in 1887;[7] in 1889[8] (four rows of blocks, of a total length of 16½ yards, arranged alternately lengthways and across); in 1892 (six rows of blocks: total width nearly 4 yards, height also nearly 4 yards).[9] The first two were found in the direction

1 Tit. Liv., XXXV. 41.

2 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XVI. 216: "*Nonne simulacrum Vejovis in arce e cupresso durat a condita DLXI anno dicatum.*"

3 Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, VII. 8; Festus, p. 18: "*Auguraculum appellabant antiqui quam nos arcem dicimus, quod ibi Augures auspicarentur.*" Cf. Cicero, *de Offic.*, III. 16. 66.

4 Perhaps it is the "*casa sacrorum stramentis tecta*" of which Vitruvius speaks, *De Archit.*, II. 1. 20.

5 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXII. 5: "*Gramen cum sua terra-ex arce evulsum.*" Tit. Liv., I. 24: "*Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit.*"

6 R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 64.

7 *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1887, p. 113; 1890, p. 215.

8 *Id.*, 1890, p. 215; Ch. Huelsen. *IIer Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1891, p. 104.

9 *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1892, p. 200; *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1892, pp. 145, 146; Ch. Huelsen, *IVer Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 287.

of the Via di Marforio, the third, in that of the Via Giulio Romano.

On the flanks of the Arx, especially to the north-east, towards the Campus Martius, stood numerous private houses arranged in tiers, and having their rears against the declivity of the hill. The front of the houses faced, on the east, the Clivus Argentarius, on the north, a street deviating from the Clivus, not far from the sepulchre of Bibulus, and skirting the foot of the hill in a direction appreciably parallel to that of the Via Giulio Romano of to-day. A part of this street was discovered in 1871. In the years between 1888 and 1892, numerous remains of private houses were discovered, especially between the Beata Rita church and the modern staircase of the Aracoeli ; these houses were ornamented with mosaics and mural paintings.[1]

Besides, the northern base of the Arx was occupied by a certain number of sanctuaries consecrated to foreign divinities, especially Oriental, these being hollowed out in the rock.[2] Inscriptions give the names of Dea Celestis,[3] Jupiter Sabazius,[4] Hecate,[5] Mithra.[6] One of these sanctuaries, discovered in 1892, in the vicinity of the Via Giulio Romano, measured rather more than 3½ yards long, not quite 2½ yards wide, and 2¾ yards high.[7]

THE ASYLUM—THE TABULARIUM.

The ancient Asylum, the centre of which is to-day occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio, extended primitively to the north-east and south-west, as far as the slopes of the Arx and the Capitol properly so called, to the north-west, as far as the declivity that commands the Campus Martius, and to the south-east, as far as the Forum. It had been made smaller in 78 B.C. (676 ab urbe conditâ) by the building of the Tabularium, whose dimensions nearly corresponded to those of the present Senatorial palace.

The two woods (luci) of the Arx and the Capitol, the souvenir of which had been kept in the expression *inter duos Lucos*, had

[1] See especially *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1888, p. 68 ; 1884, p. 160 ; 1892, pp. 43, 313, 343, 348, 406 ; *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1889, p. 2c6 ; *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1891, p. 315, and the *Jahresberichte* of Ch. Huelsen, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1889, pp. 254, 255 ; 1891, p. 104 ; 1892, p. 292 ; 1893, p. 288.

[2] *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1892, p. 407 ; Ch. Huelsen, *IVer Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 288.

[3] Marble base, om. 36c high, om. 53c. broad, om 41c. thick.

[4] Statuette, 36 centimetres high, with inscription, "*Sancto deo Sabazi Attia Celerina D(onum) d(edit) per voc(em) Pegasi Sacerdo(tis).*" *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1892, p. 43 ; *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1892, 364 ; Ch. Huelsen, *loc. cit.*

[5] I.G.I. (Ed. Kaibel), 1017.

[6] C.I.L., VI. 719.

[7] Ch. Huelsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 288.

already disappeared at the commencement of the Empire. Of the Asylum, which, according to legend, Romulus had opened, there remained only a space of limited area, surrounded with walls and designated under the name of "*Locus Saeptus.*"[1] Perhaps an ancient sanctuary was comprised in this enclosure.[2] In the neighbourhood were several public edifices: the temple of Vejovis, the triumphal arch and the trophies of Nero, towards the Campus Martius, and the Tabularium, towards the Forum.

The temple of Vejovis, which was distinct from the temple of Vejovis situated on the Arx, already existed in the last century of the Republic.[3] Every year, a sacrifice was offered in it, on the day of Nones of March (7th of March), the anniversary of its dedication.[4] Inside the cella was a statue of the god represented under a juvenile form, with a bundle of arrows in his hand and a goat beside him.[5]

The arch and the trophies of Nero were raised, between 58 and 62 A.D., to celebrate the victories of Corbulo over the Parthians.[6] A coinage of Nero's represents this arch as being formed of a single curve. The summit of the pediment is adorned with a quadriga; the two sides, with statues in bronze.[7] Nero's monuments, which no posterior records mention, were probably destroyed after his death in 68 A.D.

The Tabularium, which was the most important of the edifices of the Asylum, was built in 78 B.C. (676 ab urbe conditâ), under the consulate of M. Aemilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus.[8] The dedicatory inscriptions (two of them are known; one remained in its place until the sixteenth century, the other was discovered at the time of the clearing works executed in 1845)

[1] Tit. Liv., I. 8: "*Locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est.*" Ovid. *Fast.*, III. 431:

"*Romulus saxo lucum circumdedit alto.*"

Dion Cass., XLVII. 10; Strabo, V. 230.

[2] Dionys. of Halic., II. 15, says of Romulus: "Ναὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατασκευασάμένος (ὅτῳ δὲ ἄρα θεῷ ἢ δαιμονίων οὐχ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν)." Cf. Strabo's expression, *loc. cit.*: τέμενος.

[3] Vitruv., *De Archit.*, IV. 8. 4; Ovid, *Fast.*, VI. 429, 399:

"*Una nota est Marti nonis, sacrata quod illis*
Templa putant lucos Vediovis ante duos."

[4] *Calend. Prenest.*, day of the Nones of March (C.I.L., I². p. 311).

[5] Aul. Gell., V. 12: "*Simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis quod est in aede de qua supra dixi, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum. Quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem dixerunt immolaturque rite humano capra ejusque animalis figmentum juxta simulacrum stat.*" Cf. Ovid, *Fast.*, III. 437, 599.

[6] Tac., *Ann.*, XIII. 41; "*Statuae et Arcus . . . decernuntur*"; XV. 18: "*Arcus medio Capitolini montis sistebantur.*"

[7] H. Cohen, *Historic Description of Coins struck under the Roman Empire*, 2nd edition, I. Nero, 306.

[8] H. Jordan, *Die Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, I. 2, pp. 135–154; Fr. Reber, *Die Ruinen Roms*, pp. 69–73.

bear only the name of Q. Lutatius Catulus: Q(uintus) Lutatius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Q(uinti) n(epos) Catulus Co(n)s(u)l Substructionem et Tabularium de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciendum coeravit (ei)demque prob(avit)."[1] The second inscription is shorter: "(Q. Lu)tatius Q. f. Q. n. (Catulus cos ex s)en. sent. faciundum (coeravit) eidemque prob(avit)."[2] The fortifications, connecting the defence of the Arx with that of the Capitol properly so called, dated back to the monarchical period;[3] they had to disappear definitively at the time of the building of the new edifice.

The various public administrations had previously had, and still continued to have, their own especial archives. The Tabularium of the Capitol was intended to centralise, under the





FIG. 2.—NERO'S ARCH (NERO'S COINAGE).

form of either originals or copies, or both, the whole of the documentary deeds concerning the history and administration of the Roman State (senatus-consulta, plebiscita, treaties of peace . . .). The Tabularium suffered from the fire which broke out in the Capitol during the troubles of 69 A.D., and destroyed in particular the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Three thousand documents engraven on brass tables were consumed. Suetonius[4] relates that Vespasian had copies searched for everywhere, and that he succeeded in reconstituting them.

The plan and interior arrangement of the Tabularium were some what irregular, the cause of the irregularity being twofold. Allowance had to be made for the pre-existing constructions and approaches (temple of Concord, portico of the Dii Consentes, Clivus Capitolinus, Scalae Gemoniae), and also

[1] C.I.L., I. 592; VI. 1314.
[2] C.I.L., I. 501; VI. 1313.
[3] Cf. the fragment still existing in the house bearing the number 1 of the Via dell' Arco di Settimio. See above, p. 22.
[4] Sueton., *Vespas.*, VIII.

for the difference of level (which was considerable, averaging two yards and a half) existing between the Forum and the Capitoline platform.

The Tabularium is trapezium-shaped. The two fronts towards the Forum and the Capitol (the modern façade, on the Piazza del Campidoglio, rests on the old wall of the Tabularium) measure ninety-three and a half and eighty-eight yards respectively, the two sides, forty-nine and a half yards. The two best preserved portions are those that face the Via del Campidoglio, and more especially the Forum.

The entire edifice is constructed of peperino blocks, rather more than a yard long, and rather more than half a yard high, arranged alternately in the direction of the length and of the thickness. The Tabularium, properly so called, rests directly on the tufa of the hill. The façade towards the Forum, which has its bearings parallel to the temple of Concord and the portico of the Dii Consentes, is supported by a high substructure expressly mentioned (Substructio et Tabularium) in the dedicatory inscription of Q. Lutatius Catulus. This substructure was, from the first, concealed, to the north-east and south-west, by the temple of Concord and the portico of the Dii Consentes. Only the central part of it was visible from the Clivus Capitolinus.

Behind the front wall, which is nearly four and a half yards thick, is a series of rooms built on a level with the Forum and communicating with each other by an arched passage. These rooms, the back walls of which were formed of the tufa of the hill, received their light by means of a row of windows, two feet wide, cut through the thick substructure. The first story was reached by mounting a staircase at the north-east extremity of the edifice.

Above the substructure extends an arched gallery, nearly eight yards wide, and about eleven and a half high, which takes up the whole front of the Tabularium. Built at an intermediary level between those of the Forum and the Asylum, the gallery afforded issue at the two ends on the Clivus Capitolinus and the Scalae Gemoniae, thus establishing direct communication between the Capitol and the Arx. The floor was paved with polygonal blocks of basalt, some remains of which were discovered in 1830. The entrance on the side of the Via del Campidoglio still exists to-day ; but the door at the other end of the gallery, on the site of the Via dell' Arco di Settimio of the present time, has disappeared.

Towards the Forum, this gallery opened in a series of arcades, eleven in all, which are now walled up, with a single exception. These arcades, eight and a quarter yards high, and about four wide, were supported by massive peperino pillars, with Doric

columns let in to ornament them; the capitals of the columns and the entablature were constructed in travertine.

The gallery was formerly surmounted by a second story, which presented a line of arcades symmetric to those of the first. This second story has been replaced by the modern constructions of the Senatorial palace.

The inside arrangement of the Tabularium, as existing to-day, is complex; and the use made of the various rooms cannot be determined with certainty. At the back of the arcade gallery which occupies the whole width of the first story, and parallel to it, extends, at a higher level, an arched hall, which subsequently to the construction of 78 B.C. (676 ab urbe conditâ) was divided, no doubt under the Empire, into two parts by a row of pillars running throughout the length of the building. This hall communicated at once with the arcade gallery of the first story and with the Forum: with the former, by means of an arched staircase, discovered in 1843, which was in the north-eastern part of the edifice, and had its issue in the gallery, opposite the single arcade that has remained open; with the Forum, by means of a long staircase of sixty-seven steps, discovered in 1850. To this staircase access was obtained, on the side towards the Forum, by an arched door, still visible to-day, situated between the temple of Concord and the portico of the Dii Consentes. Under Domitian, at the time of the building of the temple of Vespasian, the hind part of which rests upon the substructure of the Tabularium, this door was walled up, and direct communication between the Tabularium and the Forum was thus intercepted.

The north-east portion of the Tabularium, comprised between the staircase that connects the arcade gallery with the higher hall and the Via dell' Arco di Settimio of to-day, is occupied by a suite of four rooms arranged perpendicularly to this latter, into which they used to open, at the same time communicating with each other. The first of these rooms, contiguous to the arcade gallery, contains a staircase, which leads to the ground floor and is utilisable by those going to the rooms built in the mass of the substructure.

All of these rooms, as also the rooms symmetric to them towards the south-west, on the side of the Via del Campidoglio, —the latter have undergone a complete transformation—and the great hall situated at the back, constituted, in opposition to the substructure and the gallery of the façade, the Tabularium properly so called.

Besides the Locus Saeptus, the temple of Vejovis and the Tabularium, which occupied the central and southern portions of the Asylum, there were on its slopes that gave access to the Capitol and the Arx a certain number of private houses.

Tacitus relates that, in 69 A.D., the partisans of Vitellius were able to reach the summit of the Capitol, owing to the houses that succeeded each other without interruption right up to the higher level of the hill.[1] One of the houses that stood to the north-east of the Asylum, on the slope of the Arx, was discovered in 1888,[2] at the foot of the staircase leading from the Piazza del Campidoglio to the Santa Maria in Aracoeli church. In particular, it was possible to make out a marble-paved room. The walls and objects found bore traces of a fire.

Other private houses were built on the northern rear of the Asylum towards the Campus Martius, where the wall of Servius had long since fallen into ruins.[3] One of them was discovered in 1892, at the foot of the hill, in the lower part of the Via delle Tre Pile. Its construction was elegant, the walls being decorated with paintings, and the floor paved with mosaic.[4]

THE CAPITOL—THE AREA CAPITOLINA.

The southern brow of the hill, the Capitol properly so called, was at once less lofty and more spacious than the Arx. Its summit was occupied by an esplanade of regular form, the Area Capitolina (surface : about sixteen thousand five hundred square yards), whose bounds coincided with the edges themselves of the declivity.

This Area Capitolina was mostly an artificial work.[5] When the Tarquins laid the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, they levelled the irregular summit of the hill throughout its extent ; then they covered the natural soil with a vast platform composed of quadrangular blocks of tufa. The limits of this substructure have been determined at two points : on the northern edge of the hill, above the Via Tor de' Specchi (this fragment measured 27½ yards long and 14⅓ yards high) ; [6] and, on the east, in 1875,

[1] Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71.

[2] *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1888, p. 497 ; *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1858, p. 131. Cf. Ch. Huelsen, 1st yr. *Topogr. Jahresber.*, *loc. cit.*, 1889, p. 225.

[3] On the two fragments of the wall of Servius, found in 1872 and 1892, on the site of the Via delle Tre Pile, *Bullet. Archeol. Com.*, 1873, p. 141 ; *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1890, p. 215 ; 1892, p. 200 (cf. Ch. Huelsen, *IIIer. Topog. Jahresber.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 287) ; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 64.

[4] *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1892, p. 229 ; Ch. Huelsen, *loc. cit.*

[5] Dionys. of Halic., III. 69 ; Tit. Liv., I. 38. On the substructure of the Capitol, see further on, pp. 41, 42.

[6] Ficoroni, *Vestigie e Rarità di Roma antica*, p. 42 ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, I. 2, p. 67, note 67 ; the blocks measured about 0m. 22c. by 0m. 88c. This substructure did not belong, as H. Jordan thinks, *loc. cit.*, to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but to the Area Capitolina.

at the top of the staircase giving access to the Piazza del Campidoglio, on the Via di Monte Tarpeio.[1]

The Area Capitolina, the centre of which was occupied by the temple of Jupiter, was surrounded, on its four sides, with an enclosing wall,[2] on which abutted a portico built in 159 B.C. (595 ab urbe conditâ) under the censorship of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and C. Popilius Laenas.[3] In this enclosure there were three gates: to the south-east, the Porta Pandana, which was always open and gave access to the higher portion of the Tarpeian Rock; to the south-west, a gate of dimensions probably somewhat limited, which, by the staircase of the Centum Gradus, connected the Area Capitolina with the plain bordering on the Tiber; and, last of all, to the north-east, the chief gate,[4] which gave issue to the single carriage road leading to the Capitol, the Clivus Capitolinus. In 69 A.D., at the time of the assault made on the Capitol by the soldiers of Vitellius, Sabinus blocked up the entrance by heaping there several statues of the Area Capitolina that had been taken from their pedestals.[5] This gate was closed at night.[6] A watchman[7] was stationed at it, in whose house Domitian succeeded in hiding himself.[8] Shortly afterwards, the house was pulled down to make room for the sanctuary of Jupiter Conservator, and later still for the temple of Jupiter Custos.[9] At the gate, also, dogs were kept as a guard.[10]

The Area Capitolina was adorned with a large number of edifices and monuments of every kind. The most important one was the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to which a special notice is due.

THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was vowed, in the monarchical period, by Tarquin the Elder, during the war against

1 R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, p. 184.

2 C.I.L., III. p. 852 (Military diploma of the year 74, IX, *introeuntibus ad sinistram in muro inter duos arcus*).

3 Vell. Patercul., II. 1. 1; 3. 1: "*Qui censor porticus in Capitolio fecerat.*"

4 Sueton., *August.*, XCIV: *Fores Capitolii*; Appian, *Civil Wars*, I. 16, says that the statues of the kings of Rome, placed on the Area Capitolina, were: "Κατὰ τὰς θύρας." Tacit., *Hist.*, III, 71: "*Ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores*"; C.I.L., III. p. 852 (Military diploma of the year 74, IX, *in Capitolio introeuntibus*).

5 Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71: "*Ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, in Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora majorum, in ipso aditu vice muri objecisset.*"

6 Aul. Gell., *Attic Nights*, VI. 1, 6.

7 Aul. Gell., *loc. cit.*

8 Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 74; Sueton., *Domit.*, I.

9 Tacit., *loc. cit.*

10 Cicero, *pro Rosc. Amer.*, XX. 50: "*Canes aluntur in Capitolio ut significent, si fures venerint.*" Aul. Gell., *loc. lit.*

the Sabines.[1] When he returned to Rome, the building was begun immediately after his triumph. Several sanctuaries, which, according to tradition, dated back to the reign of the Sabine king Titus Tatius,[2] occupied the site of the future temple. They were removed by virtue of a solemn *exauguratio* : "When he was about to commence the building of the temple," writes Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[3] "Tarquin assembled the Augurs, and asked them to declare, first of all, what site was most suitable for the erection of the sanctuary and would be most agreeable to the gods. They designated the hill overlooking the Forum, then called the Tarpeian Mount and, subsequently, Mount Capitolinus. Tarquin proceeded to ask them to fix the exact site. This was not easy ; since, on the Capitol, there were numerous altars of gods and demi-gods, very near to each other, which it would be necessary to displace in order to make room for the new temple. The Augurs decided that, in the case of each already existing altar, the gods must be consulted and asked if they consented to the removal. The gods and demigods, with one or two exceptions, gave a favourable answer. Terminus[4] and Juventas[5] alone, although consulted by the Augurs in prolonged and urgent entreaties, refused to abandon their positions. Their altars were, therefore, preserved when the temple was built. At present, one of them stands in the *pronaos* of Athena, the other in the sanctuary itself, not far from the statue. The Augurs concluded from this fact that the frontiers of the Roman state would be immutable, and that nothing would ever be able to weaken the vigorous youth of the people of Rome."

At the very beginning of the work, enormous difficulties were met with. The soil was of irregular formation, the natural tufa being cracked and friable. The whole of the ground had to be levelled and an artificial platform constructed, intended to support the edifice : "The hill on which the new temple was to be built," writes Dionysius of Halicarnassus[6] further, "was neither of easy approach nor yet of uniform level ; it was steep and culminated in a sharp peak. Tarquin surrounded it on all sides with lofty substructures, and filled in the space between

[1] Tit. Liv., I. 38 : "*Aedem in Capitolio Jovis quam voverat bello Sabino . . .*" Dionys. of Halic., III. 69 : "'Ενεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκευάζειν τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐχὴν ἀποδιδοὺς ἥνπερ ἐποιήσατο τοῖς Θεοῖς ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ πρὸς Σαβίνους μάχῃ" ; Cicero, *De Repub.*, II. 20. 36 ; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIV. ; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72.

[2] Tit. Liv., I. 55.

[3] Dionys. of Halic., III. 69.

[4] Cato (quoted by Festus, 162) ; Ovid, *Fast.*, II. 665 ; Serv., ad *Aeneid.*, IX. 448 ; Tit. Liv., I. 55, speak only of Terminus.

[5] The sanctuary of Juventas is mentioned only by this text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Saint Augustine mentions likewise—but the fact is doubtful—a sanctuary of Mars (*City of God*, IV. 23).

[6] Dionys. of Halic., III. 69.

these and the top with a thick stratum of earth, thus levelling the hill and rendering the building of the temple possible."[1]

These labours occupied the last four years of the reign of Tarquin the Elder,[2] and they were probably continued under that of Servius Tullius.[3] Tarquin the Proud devoted to the erection of the edifice the important booty (according to Piso, 40,000 pounds of silver; according to Fabius Pictor, 40 talents = 225,200 francs, a figure which Titus Livy deems more likely) which he had captured from the Volscian town of Suessa Pometia.[4] In addition, Tarquin forced the plebeians to supply the labour.[5]

But the sums available were hardly sufficient for the laying of the foundations.[6] The work had to be slackened, without being entirely interrupted. Tarquin the Proud sent for carpenters from Etruria.[7] The quadriga and the statues of the pediment, in terra cotta, were ordered from Etruscan artists at Veii.[8] The edifice was almost completed in 509 B.C. (245 ab urbe conditâ) when Tarquin was expelled from Rome. It seems that the decoration only was unfinished. "The temple of Jupiter," says Plutarch,[9] "was almost completed, when Tarquin, either in obedience to an oracle or of his own accord, determined to place on its summit a quadriga in terra cotta, the execution of which was entrusted to Etruscan workmen at Veii. Shortly after, he was driven from the throne. When the quadriga was modelled, the workmen put it into the oven to bake, but the clay, instead of shrinking and condensing through evaporation of its moisture, as is usually the case when it is put into a furnace, grew larger, swelled, and formed a mass so bulky, so heavy, and so hard, that the vault and sides of the oven had to be demolished in order to extract it, a task which was only accomplished with

[1] Tit. Liv., VI. 4, apropos of the repairs in 388 B.C. (366 ab urbe conditâ), says of the substructures of the Capitol: "*Opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum*"; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVI. 104: "*Substructiones insanas Capitoli mirabantur.*"

[2] Tit. Liv., I. 38: "*Aream . . . jam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.*" Dionys. of Halic., III. 69: "Τοὺς θεμελίους οὐκ ἔφθασε θεῖναι τοῦ νεῶ χρόνον ἐπιβιώσας μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου τετραετῆ." Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIV.; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72: "*Jecerat fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent.*"

[3] Tacit., *loc. cit.*: "*Mox Servius Tullius, sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus . . . extruxere.*"

[4] Tit. Liv., I. 55, 7: "*Pometinae manubiae*"; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72: "*Capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis*"; Dionys. of Halic., IV. 59–61.

[5] Tit. Liv., I. 56, 1: "*Non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe*"; Cicero, *Verr.*, 19, 48: "*Capitolium, sicut apud majores nostros factum est, publice coactis fabris operisque imperatis, gratis exaedificari atque effici potuit.*"

[6] Tit. Liv., I. 55.

[7] Tit. Liv., I. 58: "*Fabris undique ex Etruria accitis.*"

[8] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXV. 157; Festus, p. 174; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIII.

[9] Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIII.

great difficulty. The soothsayers having declared that the car would bring luck to whatever people possessed it, the Veians resolved not to give it to the Romans who had ordered it. They replied, therefore, that it belonged to Tarquin personally, and not to those who had expelled him.

"Some time after, they held a chariot race with the usual pomp and magnificence. When the games were over, the victor, who had just been crowned, drove his car slowly towards the exit, intending to quit the course. Suddenly the horses took fright, without any visible cause, and, either by mere chance or by divine impulsion, ran at full speed towards Rome. The charioteer did his utmost, both with hand and voice, to stop them in their career. Seeing that his efforts were useless, he abandoned them to their impetuosity and was carried to the foot of the Capitol, where the horses overthrew the vehicle and its occupant near the gate to-day bearing the name of Ratumena. The Veians, surprised and frightened at this event, allowed the workmen to deliver the car to the Romans."

The dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was performed with solemnity, in the year following the expulsion of the kings, on the day of the Ides of September (13th of September), 509 B.C. (245 ab urbe conditâ), by the acting consul, M. Horatius Pulvillus.[1]

The ceremony of the dedication is described by Plutarch:[2] "When the temple was finished and decorated with suitable magnificence, Publicola was very desirous of performing the consecration; several of the first citizens of Rome envied him this prerogative. They had seen without jealousy the glory he had justly acquired by his laws and his victories; but not believing that he was entitled to this new honour, they urged Horatius to claim it. At that moment, a war broke out which obliged Publicola to march at the head of the army. Those that envied him, conscious that it would not be easy for them to gain their point, if he were in Rome, contrived that, in his absence, the people should decree the dedication of the temple by Horatius; and, forthwith, they conducted him to the Capitol. It is said by some that, the consuls having drawn lots, the command of the army fell to Publicola, and the consecration of the temple to Horatius. What had previously passed between them may be gathered, however, from what happened on the day of the ceremony. On the day of the Ides of September, all the people had assembled at the Capitol in profound silence.

[1] Tit. Liv., II. 8; VII. 3: "*Horatius consul ex lege templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos.*" Polyb., III. 22; Dionys. of Halic., V. 35; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XIV.: Valer. Max., V. 10, 1. Cf. Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII. 19

[2] *Publicol.* XIV.

After accomplishing all the other ceremonies, Horatius had already seized one of the gates of the temple, and was about to pronounce the solemn prayer of consecration, when Valerius, Publicola's brother, who had been waiting for a long time near the gate of the temple, and was prepared for this opportunity, said to him : 'Consul, your son has just died of sickness in the camp.' All those present were afflicted by the news ; but Horatius, without letting himself be unnerved, contented himself with replying : 'Cast his body where you please ; as for me, I shall not go into mourning ;' and he finished the consecration. The news was false, and Valerius had fabricated it to prevent the completion of the ceremony. On this occasion, Horatius showed admirable firmness, either that he had, at once, detected the stratagem of Valerius, or that, believing the news to be true, he had not experienced the least emotion."

The temple of the Tarquins remained in existence, under the Republic, until 83 B.C. (671 ab urbe conditâ). In the course of these four centuries, it was constantly embellished, notably in 296 B.C. (458 ab urbe conditâ) by the Curule Aediles, Q. and Cn. Ogulnii ;[1] and in 142 B.C. (612 ab urbe conditâ), under the censorship of Scipio Aemilianus and C. Mummius Achaius ;[2] and in 179 B.C. (575 ab urbe conditâ) important repairs were carried out, under the censorship of M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior.[3] But the whole of the structure continued to be intact.

On the 6th of July, 83 B.C. (671 ab urbe conditâ), under the consulship of L. Scipio and Cn. Norbanus, the edifice was burnt to the ground, probably through the negligence of the keepers.[4] After his final victory over the party of Marius in 82 B.C. (672 ab urbe conditâ), Sylla undertook the rebuilding of the temple.[5] The work was pushed on with great activity.[6] After Sylla's death, Q. Lutatius Catulus, who was consul in 78 B.C. (676 ab urbe conditâ), was authorised by the Senate, in his character of "*Curator reficiendi Capitolii*,"[7] to continue the

[1] Tit. Liv., X. 23. [2] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII. 57. [3] Tit. Liv., XL. 51.

[4] The year is indicated by Cicero, *Catilin.*, III. 419 ; Sallust, *Catilin.*, XLVII. ; Dionys. of Halic., IV. 62 ; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72 : "*L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus*" ; the day by Plutarch, *Syll.*, XXVII. Dionys. of Halic., *loc. cit.*; Tacit., *loc. cit.* ; Appian, *Civil Wars*, I. 86 (with reservations), attribute this fire to malevolence ; Dion Cassius, fragm. CVI. 2, to lightning ; Cassiodorus, *ad ann.* 671, and Obsequens, 57, to the negligence of the keepers.

[5] Tac., *Hist.*, III. 72 : "*Curam victor Sulla suscepit neque tamen dedicavit.*" Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV. ; Valer. Max., IX. 3–8.

[6] Valer. Max., *loc. cit.* : "Sylla, enraged to see that Granius, the first magistrate of Puteoli, where he then was, did not hasten to give him the money promised by the decurions of this colony for the restoration of the Capitol, went into such a fit of anger and shouted so loudly that he burst a blood-vessel in his chest, and expired."

[7] Varro, quoted by Aul. Gell., *Attic Nights*, II. 10 : "*Q. Catulus, curator reficiendi Capitolii.*"

undertaking. Nine years later, in 69 B.C. (685 ab urbe conditâ), Catulus proceeded solemnly to the dedication.[1] In 46 B.C. (708 ab urbe conditâ) the Senate decided to substitute the name of Caesar for that of Catulus on the dedicatory inscription; but the decree was not carried into execution: the name of Catulus was retained.[2]

The temple was twice struck by lightning, in 65 B.C. (689 ab urbe conditâ)[3] and in 9 B.C. (745 ab urbe conditâ).[4] Augustus repaired it without placing any inscription on it in his name.[5] In 69 A.D., at the time of the assault made on the Capitol by the partisans of Vitellius, the temple was burnt for the second time. Tacitus[6] thus describes the event: "It is doubtful whether it was the besiegers or the besieged who lighted the fire. The most common opinion is that the besieged set fire to these edifices, to repulse those who were ascending or were already at the top. The flames gained the porticoes that ran round the temple; soon the eagles supporting the summit caught fire, the wood being old, and furnished fresh material to the conflagration. Thus perished the Capitol, with closed doors, and without any one defending it, or yet pillaging it."

Vespasian, on becoming Emperor, at once took measures for the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The work was begun in 70 A.D. "On the eleventh day from the Kalends of July (=21st of June)," writes Tacitus,[7] "under a cloudless sky, the whole space consecrated to the temple was hung round with wreaths and bandlets. Soldiers, bearing lucky names, entered the enclosure with boughs of favourable augury. The Vestal virgins, accompanied by young boys and girls whose parents were still living, sprinkled water from fresh springs and rivers. Then the praetor Helvidius Priscus, led by the pontiff Plautus Helianus, purified the ground by offering a sacrifice; and, the victims' entrails having been placed on an altar of grass-turf, he besought Jupiter, Juno, Minerva and the tutelary gods of the Empire, to second the enterprise and to raise, by their divine assistance, this dwelling commenced for them by the piety of

1 Tit. Liv., *Perioch.*, 98: "*Templum Jovis in Capitolio quod incendio consumptum ac refectum erat a Q. Catulo dedicatum est.*" Cassiodor., *ad ann.* 685; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 72; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.; Phlegon, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* (Edit. C. Müller, III. p. 606).

2 Dion Cass., XLII. 14; Tac., *Hist.*, III. 72: "*Lutatii Catuli nomen, inter tanta Caesarum opera, usque ad Vitellium mansit.*"

3 Cicero, *Catilin.*, III. 8–19.

4 Dion Cass., LV. 1.

5 *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4–9: "*Capitolium . . . impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei.*"

6 Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71; Stat., *Silv.*, V. 3, pp. 195–599.

7 Tac., *Hist.*, IV. 53; Dion Cass., LXVI. 10; Sueton., *Vespas.*, VIII.; Aurel. Victor, *Caesar*, 9–7; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.; *Chronicle of Saint Jerome, ad ann. Abrah.* 2089.

men. Afterwards he touched the bandlets attached to the first stone and interlaced with cords. At the same time the other magistrates, the priests, the Senate, the equestrian order and a great part of the people, emulating each other in their efforts and their joy, dragged the enormous stone to its place. Into the foundations were thrown pieces of gold and silver and lumps of metal ore which no furnace had yet reduced." When the clearing took place, Vespasian insisted on himself carrying away on his back some of the stones.[1] The dedication was performed in the Emperor's lifetime, probably about 75 A.D.

Very few years after the completion of the edifice, in 80 A.D., under Titus, a great fire devastated the Campus Martius and the region of the Circus Flaminius. The fire gained the Capitol, and, for the third time, the temple was destroyed.[2] Titus at once set about rebuilding it; and, on the 7th day from the Ides of December (7th of December), 80 A.D., the Arvales assembled in the temple of Ops, on the Capitol, in order to make solemn vows in favour of the new temple.[3] Titus died some months later. The work was continued and completed by Domitian;[4] and the dedication seems to have been performed a year after the death of Titus, in 82 A.D. Coins were struck in Asia Minor with the legend: "Capitolium Restitutum." This reconstruction was destined to be the last. Domitian's temple remained standing until the end of the Empire.

The first temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, that of the Tarquins, which was represented in the last century of the Republic on a coin of M. Volteius,[5] the monetary triumvir about 88 B.C. (666 ab urbe conditâ), was a hexastyle edifice of the Tuscan order, with three rows of columns in the front and a single row at the sides. The posterior portion of the building, to the north-west, was bare of columns. The temple, resting on a deep

[1] Sueton., *Vespas.*, VIII: "*Ipse (Vespasianus) restitutionem Capitolii aggressus, ruderibus purgandis, manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit. . . .*"

[2] Dion Cass., LXVI. 24: "Τον τε νεών τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν"; Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.; Sueton., *Domit.*, V. VIII.

[3] C.I.L., VI. 2059, p. 507, 10: '*M. Tillio Frugi T. Vinisio Juliano coss.* (=80 A.D) *VIII Id. Decem. in Capitolio in aedem Opis convenerunt ad vota nuncupanda ad restitutionem et dedicationem Capitolii ab imp(eratore) T(ito) Caesare Vespasiano Aug(usto).*"

[4] Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.: "Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ συνετελέσθη καὶ καθιερώθη." Sueton., *Domit.*, V.: "*Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta (Domitianus) restituit, in quis et Capitolium quod rursus arserat, sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria.*" Suetonius, *id.* VIII., relates, moreover, that Domitian ordered his soldiers to destroy a tomb that one of his freed slaves was said to have raised to his son with stones intended for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and that he had the ashes and bones found in it thrown into the sea.

[5] E. Babelon, *Historical and Chronological Description of the Buildings of the Roman Republic* (in French), Paris, 1885, II. p. 565, CLXXXI. *Volteia* (No. 1).

basement, inside which were a series of subterraneous chambers (favissae), was of massive form, nearly square. The pillars were thick, low, and wide apart. The pediment, supported on an architrave of wood, was surmounted in the centre by a quadriga, and, on the sides, by statues in terra cotta, one of which was that of Jupiter Summanus.[1] In 296 B.C. (458 ab urbe conditâ) the Curule Aediles, Q. and Cn. Ogulnii, with the proceeds of fines imposed on usurers, replaced the terra cotta quadriga by a bronze one,[2] ornamented with a statue of Jupiter wearing a crown.[3] Later, the statue of Jupiter Summanus, which had been struck by lightning, was replaced by a bronze statue.[4] The tympanum of the pediment was ornamented with reliefs of which we have no certain knowledge. The coins of Volteius show only a wingèd thunderbolt,[5] but most likely the representation is incomplete. The temple was repaired in 179 B.C. (575 ab urbe conditâ), under the censorship of M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior: the pillars, in addition, were whitened and polished.[6]

The interior comprised three cellae, with parallel arrangement in the direction of the length, and covered with one roof for the three.[7] In the centre was the cella of Jupiter, which was the principal one; to the west (in the direction of Tiber) was that of Minerva; to the east (in the direction of the Asylum) that of Juno. The three cellae were entered through three bronze doors, the middle one, leading to the cella of Jupiter, being larger than the two others. These are represented on the coins of M. Volteius,[8] and on the bass-reliefs of the Museum of the Conservators and the Museum of the Louvre, which will be spoken of further on. The floor from about 150 B.C. (604 ab urbe conditâ) was covered with white mosaic,[9] the first that had been seen in Rome. The threshold was in bronze from the time of the Curule Aedileship of Q. and Cn. Ogulnii, 296 B.C. (458 ab urbe conditâ).[10] The wainscoting of the

[1] Cicero, *de Divinat.*, I. 10–16: "*Cum Summanus in fastigio Jovis optimi maximi qui tum erat fictilis, e caelo ictus esset. . . .*" Cf. Tit. Liv., *Perioch.*, 14.

[2] Tit. Liv., X. 23.

[3] Plaut., *Trinumm.*, 83: "*Si te surripuisse suspicet Jovi coronam de capite ex Capitolio, quod, in columine aestat summo*"; *id.*, *Men.*, 941: "*At ego te sacram coronam surripuisse Jovi.*"

[4] See above, note 1.

[5] E Babelon, *loc. cit.*

[6] Tit. Liv., XL. 51: "*M. Aemilius Lepidus . . . aedem Jovis in Capitolio columnasque circa poliendas albo locavit et ab his columnis quae incommode opposita videbantur signa amovit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria affixa omnis generis dempsit.*"

[7] Dionys. of Halic., IV. 61. Cf Tit. Liv., VI. 29; VII. 38; X. 23, etc.; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV.; Valer. Maxim., VIII. 15. 1; Seneca, *Epist.*, 95, 75, etc.

[8] See above, p. 35, note 5.

[9] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVI. 185: "*Scutulatum in Jovis Capitolini aede primum factum est.*"

[10] Tit. Liv., X. 23: "*Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules . . . aenea in Capitolio limina . . . posuerunt.*"

ceiling was gilded in 142 B.C. (612 ab urbe conditâ),[1] under the censorship of Scipio Aemilianus and L. Mummius Achaius. The roof was covered with bronze tiles.

At the furthest end of the three cellae were the altars and statues of the three divinities. The statue of Jupiter, a terra cotta one similar to those of the pediment, the face of which was painted vermilion on feast days, was the work of an Etruscan artist from Veii. The ancient statues[2] of Terminus and Juventas, which the rites had not allowed to be removed, were inside the temple. The altar of Juventas was in the cella of Minerva, that of Terminus in the *Pronaos*. As the worship of Terminus had to be celebrated in the open air, an aperture had been made in the temple roof.[3]

Inside the temple of Jupiter were numerous works of art, being gifts of kings and foreign peoples, magistrates and triumphing victors. Of the statues, two were of Jupiter, one being placed between the cellae of Jupiter and Minerva; it had been previously at Praeneste, and was dedicated in 380 B.C. (374 ab urbe conditâ) by the dictator T. Quinctius;[4] the other had been brought from Macedonia by T. Quinctius Flaminius;[5] there was also a statue of Scipio Africanus[6] in the cella of Jupiter. Then there were golden Victories, one of which had been dedicated in 216 B.C. (538 ab urbe conditâ) by Hiero of Syracuse;[7] shields that were fastened to the pillars—a great number of them being removed in the course of the alterations in 179 B.C. (575 ab urbe conditâ);[8] golden crowns, dedicated by those who had triumphed, or else by foreign peoples; for instance, Mamercus Aemilius, dictator in 437 B.C. (317 ab urbe conditâ);[9] T. Quinctius, dictator in 380 B.C. (374 ab urbe con-




FIG. 3.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF M. VOLTEIUS).

[1] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII. 57: "*Laquearia, quae nunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur, primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt censura L. Mummi.*"
[2] Plin., *Hist. Nat*, XXXIII. 57. Cf. XXXIII. III.
[3] Dionys. of Halic., III. 69 (cf. p. 30, above).
[4] Tit. Liv., VI. 29.
[5] Cicero, *Verr.*, IV. 58, 129.
[6] Valer. Maxim., VIII. 15. 1: "(*Scipio Africanus*) *imaginem in cella Jovis optimi maximi positam habet.*"
[7] Tit. Liv., XXV. 37. This Victory weighed 220 pounds.
[8] *Id.*, XL. 51. See above, p. 33.
[9] Tit. Liv., IV. 20: "*Mamercus Aemilius coronam auream libram pondo ex publica pecunia populi jussu in Capitolio Jovi donum posuit.*" Cf. XXV. 39; XXXVIII. 35; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXV. 14.

dità);[1] the Hernici, in 449 B.C. (305 ab urbe condità);[2] the Carthaginians, in 343 B.C. (411 ab urbe condità);[3] Philip of Macedon, in 161 B.C. (563 ab urbe condità);[4] pictures: one of them represented the surrender of Jugurtha.[5]

A treasure was placed under the spot where the statue of Jupiter stood.[6] The younger Marius carried it off to Praeneste in 62 B.C. (672 ab urbe condità);[7] Sylla, after his victory, brought it back to Rome. Inside the temple, also, the Sibylline books were kept;[8] and, last of all, various objects of art were deposited in the *favissae* of the foundations.[9]

In 70 A.D., at the time of the second reconstruction of the temple, there was some question of modifying the plan of the ancient edifice. The matter was submitted to the Haruspices. Tacitus[10] writes: "The Haruspices ordered the ruins of the old temple to be transported into the marshes, and a new temple to be built on the same site, adding that the gods were not willing that anything should be changed in the plan. . . . The height was increased, this being the only alteration religion seemed able to permit and the only magnificence that appeared to be lacking in the ancient edifice." It should be added that, in the new building, the Corinthian order was substituted for the Tuscan. The temples of Vespasian and Domitian remained hexastyle, as those of the Tarquins and Q. Lutatius Catulus had been.

The temple, as reconstructed in 78 B.C. (676 ab urbe condità) by Q. Lutatius Catulus, is represented on a coinage of Petillius Capitolinus,[11] who was monetary triumvir in 43 B.C. (711 ab urbe condità), with its façade of six columns, its pediment ornamented with reliefs (in the centre, Rome sitting on shields; on the right, the She-Wolf and the Twins; on the right and on the left, birds), and surmounted, in the centre, by the quadriga of Jupiter; on the sides, by statues of Minerva and Juno, and by two acroteria. The roof was supported by wooden eagles,[12] mentioned above in connection with the fire of 69 A.D. The doors of the cellae, hidden by three shields that hung between the central pillars, are not visible on the coins of Petillius

[1] Festus, p. 363: "*T. Quinctius trientem tertium pondo coronam auream dedisse se Jovi donum scripsit.*"

[2] Tit. Liv., V. 37.

[3] *Id.*, VII. 38.

[4] *Id.*, XXXVI. 34; cf. also XLIII. 6. Other offerings are mentioned by Titus Livy, XXIX. 38 (gold quadriga), XXXVIII. 35 (a gilded car with six horses harnessed to it), etc.

[5] Plutarch, *Mar.*, XXXII.

[6] Tit. Liv., V. 50; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII. 14-16. This treasure originally comprised 2,000 pounds of gold.

[7] Appian, *Civil Wars*, 87.

[8] Dionys. of Halic., IV. 62.

[9] Aul. Gel., *Attic Nights*, II. 10. 2.

[10] Tacit., *Hist.*, IV. 53.

[11] E. Babelon, *loc cit.*, II. pp. 291–292, No. CXXII. *Petillia* (Nos. 1–4).

[12] Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71.

Capitolinus. The bronze tiles that covered the roof were gilded by Catulus.[1]

Fresh offerings had replaced, in the interior of the building, those that had been consumed in the fire of 83 B.C. (671 ab urbe conditâ): of the statues—a statue of Apollo, the work of Calamis, brought from Apollonia in Asia Minor, and consecrated in 71 B.C. (683 ab urbe conditâ) by Lucullus;[2] a statue of Theseus by Parrhasius;[3] a boy's statue, dedicated in 75 B.C. (679 ab urbe conditâ);[4] a statue of Minerva,[5] consecrated by Cicero in 58 B.C. (666 ab urbe conditâ); two busts, dedicated in 57 B.C. (696 ab urbe conditâ) by the consul P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther;[6] the statue of Jupiter, by Myron, consecrated by Augustus;[7] a quadriga and a Victory, consecrated in 42 B.C. (712 ab urbe conditâ) by the consul C. Munatius Plancus;[8] some pieces of gold plate;[9] a collection of engraven stones, being part of the booty captured from Mithridates and offered by Pompey the Great;[10] bronze tables containing treaties and other public documentary deeds.[11] The seated statue, which occupied the furthest end of the cella of Jupiter, was in gold, ivory, and marble.[12] Last of all, the Sibylline books had been reconstituted and replaced in the subterraneous chambers of the temple.[13]



FIG. 4.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF PETILLIUS CAPITOLINUS).

The representation of Vespasian's temple on his coinage[14] is similar; but the edifice is in the Corinthian style. The pediment was adorned with reliefs, representing, in the centre, the

[1] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIII. 57: "*Cùm varie sua aetas de Catulo existimaverit, quod tegulas aereas Capitolii inaurasset.*" Cf. Seneca, *Controv.*, I. 6. 4: "*Fastigatis supra tectis auro puro fulgens praelucet Capitolium*"; *id.*, II. 1. 1.: "*Inauratum Capitolium*"

[2] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 39: "*In Capitolio Apollo tralatus a M. Lucullo ex Apollonia Ponti urbe XXX cubitorum.*" Strab., VII. 6. 1.

[3] Plin., *Hist. Nat*, XXXV. 69.

[4] Festus, p. 262.

[5] Dion Cass., XXXVIII. 17; XLV. 17; Obseq., 68.

[6] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 44.

[7] Strab., XIV. 14.

[8] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXV. 108: "*In Capitolio quam Plancus imperator posuerat, victoria quadrigam in sublime rapiens.*"

[9] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXVII. 18. etc. Various gifts, made by the Emperors, are mentioned by Suetonius, *Tiber.*, LIII.; *Calig.*, XVI.; *Nero*, X. XII. XIV.; Tacit., *Ann.*, XV. 74. etc.

[10] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVII. 11.

[11] Cicero, *Catilin.*, III. 19.

[12] Chalcid., *ad Plat. Tim.*, 336; Varro (quoted by Non., p. 162): Josephus, *Antiq. of the Jews*, XIX. 1, 2.

[13] Lactant., *de Ira Dei*, XXII. 6; Fenestella, *Instit.*, 1, 16, 14.

[14] H. Cohen, *loc. cit.*, 2nd edit., I., *Vespasian*, Nos. 486–493. See pp. 46–47.

Capitoline triad, Jupiter, seated, holding a sceptre, Minerva and Juno standing, on his right and left ; on either side of the central group were two groups of men (the Cyclops) striking on their anvil. The summit was surmounted by a quadriga, in the centre, and by two bigae and by eagles as acroteria. The Haruspices had forbidden the edifice to be profaned with gold or stones intended for another usage. Among the offerings, Pliny[1] mentions crowns in cinnamon-wood, ornamented with gold, which were given by Vespasian.

Last of all, Domitian's temple, the one which existed till the end of the Empire, is represented on the coinage of this Emperor[2] and on three bass-reliefs. One of these bass-reliefs, taken from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, is to-day preserved in the Museum of the Conservators, at Rome ;[3] the second is in the Museum of the Louvre (the pediment is wanting) ;[4] the third, which, in the sixteenth century, was in the Vatican Library, has to-day disappeared ; but four designs of it remain, which were executed in the sixteenth century :[5] one is in the Coburg Library ;[6] a second, taken from Fulvio Orsini's Library, is preserved in the Vatican Library ; a third was sketched about the end of the sixteenth century by a Rheims sculptor, in the course of a journey made to Rome ;[7] and a fourth is by Piranesi.[8]

Of all these representations, the most exact and the most authentic is given by the design of the Coburg Library. The facts that are certain are the following. The temple, as reconstructed by Domitian, was hexastyle, like the previous temples. The pediment, as in Vespasian's temple, was surmounted by a quadriga, in the centre ; with two bigae and with statues, at the sides (one representing Mars with the spear, another, Minerva). The reliefs of the tympanum represented : in the centre, the Capitoline triad, Jupiter seated, Minerva and Juno standing. On either side, the two cars of the Sun and the Moon converge towards the central group ; two groups of three men (Vulcan and the Cyclops) are striking on their anvil ;

1 *Hist. Nat.*, XII. 94 : "*Coronas ex cinnamo in terrasili auro inclusas primus omnium in templis Capitolii atque Pacis dicavit imperator Vespasianus Augustus.*"

2 H. Cohen, *loc. cit.*, *Domitian*, Nos. 85–90 ; *id.*, No. 23

3 Bartoli, *Admir. Rom. Antiq.*, Pl. IX. ; Righetti, *Mus. d. Campidoglio*, I. 68 ; *Monum. dell' Institut. di Corrisp. Archeol.*, V. Pl. XXXVI.

4 Clarac, *Museum of Ancient and Modern Sculpture* (in French), II. 1, 732 (cf. Plates II. 151, 300).

5 As to these designs, see especially Aug. Audollent, *Unpublished Design of the Pediment of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus* (in French), *Miscellanies of the French School in Rome*, IX. 18–89, pp. 120–133 ; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (in French), article "*Capitolium*" (t. 1st, 2nd part, C., pp. 901–906).

6 Reproduced by M. Schultze, *Archeol. Zeitung*, 1872, Pl. LVII (cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *loc. cit.*, p. 904, Fig. 1151)

7 Aug. Audollent, *loc. cit.*

8 Piranesi, *Magnificenza ed Architettura dei Romani*, Pl. CXCVIII.

there are some subordinate figures; at the feet of Jupiter, a young man upright (Ganymede?); at the feet of Minerva, Hercules; and, on the right, near Juno, a man and a woman, probably Aesculapius and Vesta. In the corners are two recumbent divinities: the Tiber and, probably, the Earth.

The new edifice transcended in magnificence all those that had preceded it. The columns were of white marble, Pentelican, and fluted; they came from Athens, where Plutarch asserts he had seen them.[1] In order to fit them for their new destination, they were rehewn in Rome. "This second treatment," says Plutarch again, "gave them less elegance than it took from their symmetry; by tapering them too much, the masons deprived them of all their beauty." The three doors[2] giving access to the cellae, and the tiles of the roof[3] were of gilded bronze. The whole of the structure, according to Plutarch, had cost more than two thousand talents (66,720,000 francs).[4] Later, Trajan had his statue in the *Pronaos*[5] of the temple.





FIG. 5.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF PETILLIUS CAPITOLINUS).

In the middle ages, the temple of Jupiter completely disappeared. Even the memory of its ancient site was lost. A great number of writers who, from the sixteenth century downwards, treated of the topography of the Capitoline hill, placed the temple of Jupiter on the northern summit of the Capitol, and considered the southern summit as the Arx. The excavations carried out on the Capitol on the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli and the museum of the Conservators, in 1865[6] and 1875–1878,[7] and completed by some posterior discoveries (notably in 1896, Via di Monte Tarpeio)[8] have allowed of the question being definitely settled.

The eastern and western limits of the substructures on which the temple was raised have been able to be determined owing to the discoveries of 1865 (the garden of the Caffarelli Palace: the western limit), of 1875 (the Museum of the Conservators: the eastern limit), and of 1896 (Via di Monte Tarpeio: south-

1 Plutarch, *Publicol.*, XV.

2 Zosim., Ἱστορία Νέα, V. 38.

3 Procop., *War. Vandal.*, I. 5.

4 Plutarch., *Publicol.*, *loc. cit.*

5 Plin. the Youn., *Panegyr. of Traj.*, 52: "*In vestibulo Jovis optimi maximi.*"

6 Rosa, *Annal. dell' Instit.*, 1865, 382 *sqq.*; *Monument. dell' Instit.*, VIII. tab. 23, 2; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum*, I. 2, p. 67, n. 67.

7 R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, pp. 165–189; 1876, 31–34; H. Jordan and Schupmann, *Annal. dell' Instit.*, 145–172; Dressel, *Bull. dell' Instit.*, 1882, 226 *sqq.*

8 G. Gatti, *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1896, p. 161.

east angle of the substructures). The distance separating the two flanks—the eastern and western—and, consequently, the width of the temple, was just 56 yards,[1] to which figure must be added the thickness of the two facings which to-day no longer exist: in all a total of about 60 yards for the front.

The length, as to which the excavations have not supplied precise indications, may, nevertheless, be determined in an indirect manner. Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[2] recording the construction of the temple of Jupiter, gives the total figure of the perimeter as being eight plethra ($=271\frac{3}{20}$ yards). He adds that the difference between the length and the breadth was not 15 feet. Consequently, a total length of 66 yards must be admitted. The figure of the perimeter would, therefore, be 253 yards, *i.e.* $7\frac{1}{2}$ plethra, a figure about $17\frac{1}{2}$ yards inferior to that of





FIG. 6.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF DOMITIAN).

Dionysius. It is probable that he merely gave eight plethra as a round number.

The temple occupied the centre of the Area Capitolina, of which it covered rather more than a fifth (3,630 yards out of 16,500); the free space around it, being the Area properly so called, measured about $38\frac{1}{2}$ yards in front, $36\frac{1}{3}$ on the two sides, $27\frac{1}{2}$ yards at the back. The bearings, which excavations have enabled to be determined[3] were north-south, with a deviation of 24 degrees towards the east.

The remains discovered belong almost exclusively to the substructures.[4] These substructures, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards high, are formed with quadrangular blocks of tufa (average dimensions:

[1] H. Jordan, *Typographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum*, I. 2, pp. 69-70.
[2] Dionys. of Halic., IV. 61.
[3] On the bearings, R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, p. 180; Schupmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 149; H. Jordan, *loc. cit.*, p. 68.
[4] R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, 181. Cf. Dressel, *Bull. dell' Instit.*, 1882, p. 226.

width, om. 60c., length om. 70c., height om. 31c.) superposed on each other without mortar. In the south-eastern part of the edifice, some precise indications have also been gathered as to the dimensions of the walls that supported the six rows of columns of the *Pronaos*, and the situation of the *favissae*.[1]

Of the edifice itself only a few remains have been recovered : a fragment of a fluted column [2] and a Corinthian capital in Pentelican marble ; [3] an Attic fragment of a base, likewise in marble ; [4] some bits of a cornice and a frieze ornamented with oxheads and festoons,[5] taken from the edifice reconstructed by Domitian. From these remains, it appears that the diameter of the columns was between $2\frac{1}{5}$ and $2\frac{1}{3}$ yards ; [6] that of the bases $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, nearly ; [7] that of the capitals (the capital discovered was much mutilated), over $2\frac{1}{5}$ yards ; [8] the distance, so far as it may be ascertained from the arrangement of the supporting walls, was about $9\frac{1}{3}$ yards from axis to axis.[9] Last of all, it should be mentioned that the discovery of two terra cotta fragments in 1896 seems to have brought to light a portion of the primitive decoration of the façade.[10]

The other Edifices of the Capitol.

Round the temple of the Capitoline triad, on the Area Capitolina, stood a large number of temples, altars, religious or dedicatory monuments and statues. From the end of the monarchial period, the Capitol became the religious centre of pagan Rome. There was a great increase of sanctuaries under the Republic and the Empire.

Except, perhaps, for the temples of Fides and Jupiter Custos, it is impossible to fix the exact site of these buildings. The various records are lacking in precision, and nowhere else in the city has the disappearance of ancient remains been more complete. One fact, at least, is certain : these buildings stood on the Area Capitolina, to the front and sides of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

[1] H. Jordan, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.
[2] R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, p. 185 ; H. Jordan, *loc. cit.*, p. 72, n. 69.
[3] *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1897, p. 60.
[4] H. Jordan, *loc. cit.*
[5] R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 301.
[6] R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, p. 185.
[7] H. Jordan, *loc. cit.*
[8] *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1897, p. 60.
[9] R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1875, pp. 165 *sqq.* Cf. H. Jordan, *Topog. der Stadt Rom in Altertum*, I. 2, p. 85.
[10] G. Gatti, *Notiz. d. Scav.*, 1896, p 185.

Several temples were consecrated to Jupiter: there were the Jupiter Feretrius, the Jupiter Tonans and the Jupiter Custos.

The temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which was the first dedicated to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, was the most ancient in Rome. According to tradition, it was dedicated by Romulus, prior to the treaty concluded with the Sabine king, Titus Tatius. After killing with his own hand Acron, the king of the Caeninians, Romulus hung up in it the first spolia opima.[1] A. Cornelius Cossus in 437 B.C. (317 ab urbe condità) and M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 B.C. (532 ab urbe condità) consecrated the second and the third. At the end of the Republic, the edifice, which had been enlarged by King Ancus Marcius,[2] was falling into ruins.[3] It was rebuilt by Augustus, about 31 B.C. (723 ab urbe condità), in accordance with the primitive plan.[4]

The edifice, with its very limited dimensions (according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the longest side measured less than fifteen feet),[5] is represented on a coinage of the Gens Claudia, under the form of a tetrastyle temple with a high staircase in front.[6] Inside were deposited the sceptre and the silex used by the Fetiales in signing treaties of peace.[7]

The temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus,[8] who, during an expedition into Cantabria (in 26 B.C. =728 ab urbe condità), had narrowly escaped being struck by lightning, and dedicated on the day of the Kalends of September (1st of September), 32 B.C. (722 ab urbe condità),[9] was situated in the southern portion of the Area Capitolina, in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. On account of its situation, it was commonly called "Jupiter's porter" (janitor). Sacrifices were offered in it on the anniversary of its dedication, the 1st of September.[10] The walls were built of massive marble blocks. Inside was a statue of Jupiter, carved by the sculptor Leochares.[11] Before the entrance to the temple, on the Area Capitolina, were the statues of Hygeia, Castor, and Pollux.[12]

In 69 A D., at the time of the assault made on the Capitol by the soldiers of Vitellius, Domitian had taken refuge in the house of the keeper of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and had

1 Tit. Liv., I. 10; Dionys. of Halic., II. 34
2 Tit. Liv., I. 33.
3 Cornel. Nepos, *Attic.*, XX.; Tit. Liv., IV. 20.
4 *Res. Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4, 5: "*Aedes in Capitolio Jovis Feretri . . . feci.*" Tit. Liv., *loc. cit.*
5 Dionys. of Halic., II. 34.
6 E. Babelon (in French), *Historical and Chronological Description of the Coins of the Roman Republic*, I. p. 352, *Claudia*, No. 11, *P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus*, monetary triumvir about 45 B.C. (709 ab urbe condità).
7 Festus, p. 92.
8 *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, 4, 5.
9 *Calend. Amitern.*, the day of the Kalends of September (C.I.L., I². p. 244).
10 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVI. 50.
11 *Id.*, XXXIV. 5: "*Jovem illum tonantem in Capitolio.*"
12 *Id.*, XXXIV. 78.

hidden there to escape the clutches of his enemies. After the succession of Vespasian, he pulled down the keeper's house; and, as a token of his gratitude, consecrated, on its site, a sanctuary to Jupiter Conservator.[1] It was an edifice of small size. Inside it was an altar on which was an inscription mentioning the danger run by Domitian and the protection accorded him by Jupiter. Later, when he became Emperor, Domitian replaced the sanctuary by a larger building, the temple of Jupiter Custos.[2] In the cellae was a statue of Jupiter, which, at the dates 84 and 86, figures on several of Domitian's coinages.[3]

To the temples consecrated to Jupiter must be added those of Fides, Mens, Mars Ultor, Ops, and Venus Erycina.

The temple of Fides was situated at the southern extremity of the Area Capitolina, between the temple of Jupiter and the Tarpeian Rock. It was one of the most ancient in Rome.[4] Tradition relates that it was founded by Numa.[5] Mention is made of it for the first time in the beginning of the second century B.C. In 115 B.C. (639 ab urbe conditâ) it was restored by the consul M. Aemilius Scaurus,[6] after his triumph over the Carnic Gauls. The Senate often held their meetings there;[7] and annual sacrifices were offered in it on the day of the Kalends of October (1st of October).[8]

The temple of Mens dated back to the epoch of the Republic. Vowed in 217 B.C. (537 ab urbe conditâ) by the praetor T. Otacilius Crassus,[9] it was dedicated two years later, on the 6th day from the Ides of June (6th of June),[10] 215 B.C. (529 ab urbe conditâ). The consul M. Aemilius Scaurus rebuilt it at the same time as the temple of Fides, 115 B.C. (639 ab urbe conditâ).[11] The annual sacrifice was celebrated on the 8th of June, the anniversary of the dedication.[12]

1 Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 74.

2 *Id.*: "*Mox imperium adeptus, Jovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit.*" Sueton., *Domit.*, V.

3 H. Cohen, *loc. cit.*, *Domitian*, Nos. 301–306, 321–322.

4 Cato, quoted by Cicero, *de Offic.*, III. 104.

5 Tit. Liv., I. 21, 4; Dionys. of Halic., II. 75.

6 Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*, II. 61.

7 Valer. Maxim., III. 2, 21; Appian, *Civil Wars*, I. 16.

8 *Calendr. Amitern.*, *Arval.*, at the date of the day of the Kalends of October C.I.L., I². pp. 214–245). Several military diplomas, of the second half of the 1st century A.D., mention the temple of Faith: C.I.L., III., p. 844, No 1 (*anno* 52: *aedis Fidei populi Romani parte dexteriore*); 856, XIII (*anno* 86); 857, XIV. (*id.*).

9 Tit. Liv., XXII. 10: "*Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.*"

10 *Id.*, XXIII. 31: "*Duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erucinae. Utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae.*"

11 Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.*, II. 23, 61: "*Ut Fides, ut Mens quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus a Aemilio Scauro.*" Plutarch, *de Fort. Rom.*, X.: "Σκαῦρος Ἀιμίλιος περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ τοῖς χρόνοις γεγονὼς καθιέρωσεν."

12 *Calendr. Venous. Maffeian*, *Tusculan*, the 6th day from the Ides of June (8 June) (C.I.L., I². pp. 216, 221, 224).

The temple of Mars Ultor, which stood near that of Jupiter Feretrius, was built in 20 B.C. (734 ab urbe conditâ) by Augustus,[1] who placed in it the insignia formerly lost by Crassus and restored by Phraates, king of the Parthians. The edifice, which is represented on several of the coinages of Augustus,[2] was circular in form, with four or six columns on the circumference.

The temple of Ops, the date of whose foundation is unknown, existed already in 186 B.C. (568 ab urbe conditâ), at which time it was struck by lightning.[3] After his triumph over the Dalmatians, L. Caecilius Metellus restored it in 117 B.C. (637 ab urbe conditâ).[4] In the vicinity of the temple there was a statue of Metellus.[5] Caesar deposited his treasure in it.[6] In the first century A.D., the temple of Ops sometimes served as a meeting-place for the college of the Arvales.[7]




FIG. 7.—TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR (COINS OF AUGUSTUS).

The temple of Venus Erycina, which was near the temple of Mens,[8] was vowed in 271 B.C. (537 ab urbe conditâ) by the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus;[9] and was dedicated by him two years later, in 215 B.C. (539 ab urbe conditâ).[10]

There were numerous sanctuaries and altars on the Area Capitolina. The sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia was said by tradition to date back to the reign of Servius Tullius.[11] The sanctuary of Beneficentia was built by Marcus Aurelius.[12] The sanctuary of Felicitas is mentioned at the end of the first century B.C. Sacrifices were offered in it annually on the day of

[1] Dion Cass., XCV. 8: "'Εν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν."

[2] H. Cohen, *loc. cit.*, *Augustus*, Nos. 189–205.

[3] Tit. Liv., XXXIX. 22: "*Aedes Opis in Capitolio de caelo tacta erat.*" Cf. Obseq., 3, 68.

[4] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XI. 174.

[5] Cicero, *ad Attic.*, VI. 1, 17: "*ad Opis parte posita in excelso est.*"

[6] Cicero, *Philipp.*, II. 93; 1, 7, 17; VIII. 9, 26; *ad Attic.*, XIV. 14, 5; XVI. 14, 3.

[7] Meeting of the Arvales in 80 A.D. on the occasion of the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Titus. See above, p. 35, n. 3, Cf. C.I.L., III., suppl., p. 1962 (military diploma of the year 83 A.D., No. XV.: "*intra januam Opis ad latus dextrum.*")

[8] Tit. Liv., XXIII. 31. [9] *Id.*, XXII. 10. [10] *Id.*, XXIII. 31.

[11] Plutarch, *de Fortun. Rom.*, X.; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, IV. 51; C.I.L., XIV. 2852.

[12] Dion Cass., LXXI. 34: "Ναὸς τῆς Εὐεργεσίας."

the Kalends of July (1st of July).[1] The divinities Genius Populi Romani, Felicitas and Venus Victrix also had a sanctuary in which a sacrifice was offered, on the seventh day from the Ides of October (9th of October).[2] Then there were the sanctuary of Jupiter Victor, which was struck by lightning in 42 B.C. (712 ab urbe conditâ),[3] the sanctuary of Valetudo,[4] the sanctuary of Venus Capitolina, in which last Livia consecrated the statue of a son of Germanicus and Agrippina, represented as a Cupid.[5]

The altar of Jupiter Soter (Ἀλεξίκακος)[6] was raised by the Emperor Claudius. The altar of Jupiter Pistor[7] dated back to the epoch of the Republic. The altar of the Gens Julia[8] was raised in honour of that *gens*. There were, besides, some altars dedicated to eastern divinities: those of Isis Capitolina and Serapis,[9] and of Bellona Asiatica,[10] which were demolished in 58 B.C. (696 ab urbe conditâ) and 47 B.C. (707 ab urbe conditâ) by order of the Senate, but probably built again at a later date; and, last of all, an altar of Nemesis.[11]





FIG. 8.—TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR (COINS OF AUGUSTUS).

Other edifices, situated either on the Area Capitolina or in the immediate vicinity, counted among the most ancient souvenirs of Rome.

The Casa Romuli, a hut covered with verdure and branches, which was carefully preserved under the Empire, and which tradition asserted to have been the dwelling of Romulus, recalled the memory of the founder of Rome.[12] The Curia Calabra[13] was the place where, during the first centuries of the Republic, the Calata Comitia met each month, on the day of the Kalends, under the presidency of the Pontifex Maximus, in order to fix

[1] *Calendr. Antiat.*, the day of the Kalends of July (C.I.L., I² p. 248).
[2] *Calendr. Amitern. Arval.*, the 7th day from the Ides of October (C.I.L., I². pp. 214–245).
[3] Dion Cass., XLVII. 40, 2: "Ὁ τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμός."
[4] Petron., *Satir.*, 88.
[5] Sueton., *Calig.*, VII. Cf. an offering of Galba, Sueton., *Galb.*, XVIII.
[6] Phlegon, *Mirab.*, VI.; Serv., *ad Aeneid.*, VIII. 651.
[7] Ovid, *Fast.*, VI. 343; Lactant., *Divin. Institut.*, I. 20; *Institut. Epitom.*, 15.
[8] C.I.L., III., pp. 847–851, 1958, 1959 (military diplomas of the years 69–71, IV.–IX.)
[9] Tertull., *ad Nat.*, I. 10; *Apol.*, 6; Arnob., II. 73.
[10] Dion Cass., XLII. 46.
[11] Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XI. 251; XXVIII. 22.
[12] Vitruv., *de Archit.*, II. 1, 5; Seneca, *Controv.*, II. 1, 4; Conon, *Narr*, XLVII.
[13] Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, VI. 27; Fest., p. 49; Macrob., *Saturnal.*, I. 15, 9 *sqq.*; *Calendr. Prenest.*, the day of the Kalends of January (C.I.L., I², p. 231).

the calendar and settle various questions of civil importance, in which the intervention of religion was necessary. The Aedes Thensarum,[1] mentioned in the first century of the Christian era, was the place where the cars (thensae) were kept on which the statues of the gods were put at the time of the great processions. The office of the Aediles,[2] where the originals of public treaties were preserved, at least until the second century B.C., and the Atrium publicum, which was struck by lightning in 214 B.C. (540 ab urbe conditâ),[3] are no longer spoken of under the Empire.

On the Capitol, likewise, was the Athenaeum,[4] a spacious lecture room where orators and poets spoke or declaimed, and which was built by Hadrian. A library, destroyed by lightning in 175 A.D., under Commodus,[5] was annexed to this edifice.

In the free and open spaces between the religious and the civil edifices, in front and on the sides of the temples, along the portico that surrounded the Area Capitolina, stood a large number of honorific monuments, dedicatory bases, trophies, and statues.

After the first war against Mithridates, 87–84 B.C. (667–670 ab urbe conditâ), the towns of Lycia, in Asia Minor, consecrated a double series of dedicatory bases, on the Area Capitolina and in the Capitolium Vetus of the Quirinal, some of which have been recovered.[6]

As a souvenir of his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutons, Marius raised commemorative trophies on the Area Capitolina.[7] After being thrown down by Sylla, at the time of the Senatorial reaction that followed the banishment of Marius, they were replaced on the Capitol, during his Aedileship in 65 B.C. (689 ab urbe conditâ).

Germanicus raised other trophies, after his victorious campaigns in Germany; these were placed in the southern part of the Area Capitolina, near the temple of Fides.[8]

1 C.I.L., III., p. 845 (Military diplomas of the year 60, II.: "*ad latus sinistrum aedis Thensarum*"; *id.*, Supplement, p. 1963, XVI.: "*Post Thensarium veterem*").

2 Polyb., III. 26.

3 Tit. Liv., XXIV. 10: "*Tacta de caelo Atrium Publicum in Capitolio.*"

4 Dion Cass., LXXIII. 17; Aurel. Vict., *Caesar*, 14, 3–4; *Vita Pertin.*, XI. 2; *Severi Alexand.*, XXXVI. 2; *Gordian.*, 3, 4; Sidon. Apollin., IX. 14: "*Crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata.*"

5 Oros., VII. 16: "*Fulmine Capitolium ictum ex quo facta imflammatio bibliothecam illam majorum cura studioque compositam aedesque alias juxta sitas rapaci turbine concremavit.*" *Chronic. St. Jerome*, *ad ann. Abrah.* 2204 (ed. A. Schone, p. 175).

6 *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, 1887, p. 251. Ch. Huelsen, *Ier Topog. Jahresb.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1889, pp. 252–254; *IIIe Topogr. Jahresb.*, *id.*, 1891, pp. 103–104.

7 Plutarch, *Caesar*, VI.; Sueton., *Caesar*, VI. 11; Vell. Patercul., II 43, 4; Dion Cass., L., 4: Propert., IV. 11, 46: "*Statuae et arma Mari.*"

8 C.I.L., III., pp. 856–857 (Military diplomas of the year 86, Nos. XIII. and XIV.: "*Post Tropaea Germanici quae sunt ad Aedem Fidei populi Romani*").

Records and inscriptions mention the existence of numerous statues. Some were statues of divinities. Three were of Jupiter, one being of colossal dimensions (it was visible from the Alban Mounts) and dedicated in 293 B.C. (461 ab urbe conditâ) by the consul Spurius Carvilius Maximus, vanquisher of the Samnites;[1] a second, which faced towards the Forum, was supported by a high pillar;[2] the third was that of Jupiter Africus.[3] Then there were a statue of Liber, near the altar of Gens Julia;[4] two statues of Hercules, one of which was the work of Lysippus,[5] and the other had been dedicated in 305 B.C. (449 ab urbe conditâ);[6] a statue of Mars;[7] the statues of Hygeia, Castor and Pollux, placed on the southern ledge of the Area, in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans;[8] statues of Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna;[9] and a group in gilded bronze representing the She-Wolf and the Twins.[10]

The remaining ones were statues of celebrated personages: statues of the seven kings in their toga,[11] of L. Junius Brutus,[12] of Spurius Carvilius,[13] near the statue of Jupiter, of L. Scipio;[14] equestrian statues of the dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus,[15] the adversary of Hannibal, of M. Aemilius Lepidus,[16] of the Metelli,[17] raised by Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 52 B.C. (702 ab urbe conditâ), of Q. Marcus Rex,[18] praetor in 144 B.C. (610 ab urbe conditâ), who had the merit of bringing the Aqua Marcia to the Capitol, situated behind the temple of Jupiter, of T. Sejus,[19] who, during his Aedileship, had done much for the food supplies of Rome, and of others besides.

At the beginning of the Empire, the limited surface of the

1 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 43.
2 Dion Cass., XXXVII. 3.
3 C.I.L., III., pp. 853–855 (Military diplomas of the years 76: "*in basi Jovis Africi*"; and 85, No. XII.: "*in basi columnae parte posteriore quae est secundum Jovem Africum*").
4 *Id.*, p. 849 (Military diploma of the year 70, No. VI.: "*in podio arae gentis Juliae latere dextro ante signum Liberi patris*").
5 This statue, brought from Tarentum, had been dedicated in 209 B.C. (545 ab urbe conditâ): Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 41; Strab., VI., p. 278; Dion Cass., XLI. 14; Plutarch, *Fab. Max.*, XXII.
6 Tit. Liv., IX. 44.
7 Dion Cass., XLI. 14.
8 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 78.
9 *Id.*, XXXVI. 23: "*Boni Eventus et Bonae Fortunae simulacra in Capitolio.*"
10 Cicero, *Catilin.*, III. 8, 19: "*Romulus quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis.*" *Id.*, *de Divinat.*, II. 21, 47.
11 Ascon., *ad Scaur.*, p. 30; Plin., *Hist Nat.*, XXXIII. 9, 10, 24; XXXIV. 22. Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars*, I. 16. These statues were on the eastern portion of the Area Capitolina, near the gate giving issue to the Clivus Capitolinus.
12 Dion Cass., XLII. 45.
13 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XXXIV. 43.
14 Cicero, *pro Rabir.*, X. 27; Valer. Max., III. 6, 2.
15 Plutarch *Fab. Max.*, XXII.
16 Valer. Maxim., III. 1, 1
17 Cicero, *ad Attic.*, VI. 1, 6; Dionys. of Halic., II. 66.
18 C.I.L., III. p. 846 (Military diploma of the year 64, No. III.).
19 Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XVIII. 16 Cf. a statue of a certain Pinarius Natta, Cicero, *de Divin.* I. 12, 20, II 20, 45; 21, 47.

Area Capitolina was so crowded that Augustus was obliged to have a certain number of statues that adorned it taken away and transported to the Campus Martius.[1] Others must have been destroyed by the conflagrations of 69 and 80 A.D. Domitian and Trajan had their statues on the Capitol, the one on the Area Capitolina,[2] the other in the vestibule of the temple of Jupiter.[3] The last statue of which mention is found is that of Claudius the Gothic, a gold statue, ten feet high, which was erected in 270 A D., by order of the Senate, in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[4] A few years later, in 275, the Emperor Tacitus ordered the statue of his predecessor, Aurelian, to be erected on the Capitol; but, for reasons that do not transpire, the erection did not take place.[5]

On the enclosing walls of the Area Capitolina, as on those of the temples and on the bases of the statues, were placed bronze




FIG. 9.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF VESPASIAN).

tables containing the list of soldiers who had obtained from the Emperor their definitive liberation. For example, such lists were on the walls of the temple of Fides, of the Aedes Thensarum, of the tribunal of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; on the altar of the Gens Julia; on the bases of the statue of Jupiter Africus and the trophies of Germanicus.[6] This custom was discontinued in 90 A.D.;[7] and thenceforward the lists were posted up behind the temple of Augustus, near the Forum, at the place called "ad Minervam."

The Pandana Gate, which opened in the enclosing wall of the Area, opposite the temple of Fides, gave access to the rocky projection known as the Tarpeian Rock.[8] It was from this

1 Sueton., *Calig.*, XXXIV. 2 Sueton., *Domit.*, XIII.
3 Plin. the Young., *Paneg. Traj.*, LII.
4 *Vita Claud.*, 3, 4. 5 *Vita Tacit.*, IX. 2. 6 See above, p. 47.
7 C.I.L., III., Suppl., p. 1965, No. XXI.
8 Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, V. 41; Dionys. of Halic., VII. 35; VIII. 78; Festus, 340; Lucan., *Pharsal.*, III. 154; Tacit., *Hist.*, III. 71.

eminence, facing the temples of Fides and Jupiter Capitolinus, and in presence of the multitude assembled on the Area Capitolina as well as at the foot of the hill, in the Vicus Jugarius, that criminals were thrown down. To the crimes which, under the Republic, involved this penalty, another was added under the Empire, that of high treason. According to legend, Tarpeia was buried at this spot.

The steepness of the Capitol, on the south-east and south, had not allowed of the building of private houses on the sides of the heights. But there were a certain number between the foot of the hill and the Vicus Jugarius. This quarter was constantly threatened with landslips. In 192 B.C. (562 ab urbe conditâ) a mass of rock broke from the summit and crushed many of the people living in the Vicus Jugarius.[1] At two different dates, in 368 B.C. (366 ab urbe conditâ),[2] and in 189 B.C. (566 ab urbe





FIG. 10.—TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (COINS OF VESPASIAN).

conditâ),[3] after the just mentioned accident, the declivity was consolidated by means of buttress walls.

In 213 B.C. (541 ab urbe conditâ) a great fire devastated the whole of the quarter.[4]

At the south-east corner, immediately below the Tarpeian Rock, was a space free of buildings, the Aequimelium.[5] Here was held a market for the animals intended to be offered in private sacrifices.[6] According to legend, it was the site once occupied by the house of Spurius Maelius, who was accused of high treason in 438 B.C. (316 ab urbe conditâ) and put to death, on the Forum, by the Magister Equitum, C. Servilius Ahala.[7] His house was said to have been razed, and the Senate was said

1 Tit. Liv., XXXV. 21, 6.
2 *Id.*, VI. 4, 12.
3 *Id.*, XXXVIII. 28, 3.
4 Tit. Liv., XXIV. 47.
5 Dionys. of Halic., XII. 4.
6 Cicero, *de Divin.*, II. 17, 39: "*Cum in Aequimelium misimus qui afferat agnum quem immolemus.*"
7 Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, V. 157; Cicero, *de Domo*, 101; Tit. Liv., IV. 16, 1.

to have decreed that the spot should remain for ever unbuilt upon. This legend was probably of late creation. That the Aequimelium should have still existed at the commencement of the Empire may doubtless be explained by reasons of religion of which we are ignorant.

In the south-east, towards the Tiber, the staircase of the Centum Gradus connected the Area Capitolina with the quarter of the Forum Boarium. Between the ancient street, corresponding to the Via della Bocca della Verità of to-day, and the Capitol, there were two public edifices: the Minucia portico, constructed at the end of the second century B.C., by M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 110 B.C. (644 ab urbe conditâ), which served for the corn distribution;[1] and another portico, smaller than the Minucian one, and situated to the south of it; the plan of this latter was drawn out in the sixteenth century, and some remains of it were discovered in 1891, between the Vicolo della Bufala and the Via della Consolazione.[2]

The inner circumference of the Capitol, towards the Campus Martius and the Forum Boarium, was occupied by private houses, from the time of the sale of the State lands, which took place in 88 B.C. (666 ab urbe conditâ). The aspect of this quarter, with its irregular buildings rising in tiers, the lowest resting on the declivity of the hill, must have altered but very little from the remotest times. There were located the greater part of the 3,480 insulae and of the 140 domus mentioned in the second century by the Regionaries. Moreover, this quarter had no direct communication with the summit of the Capitol; topographically and historically, it was a part of the Campus Martius.

Decay and Ruin of the Capitol

The political and monumental development of the Capitol had been intimately connected with the development itself of the city of Rome. The decay of Rome brought with it, as a necessary consequence, the decay of the Capitol.

As soon as the Tetrarchy was established, at the end of the third century, Rome ceased to be, if not the centre of the Empire, at least the residence of its Emperors. The Palatine

[1] Cicero, *Philipp.*, II. 84; Velleius Patercul., II. 8, 3; *Vita Commod.*, XVI.; *Notit. Reg.*, IX.; Chronog. Ann., 354, p. 146 (ed. Th. Mommsen).

[2] Design of Dosio, No. 5354 (cf. R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, f. 28); Ch. Huelsen, *IIIer Topog. Jahresb.*, *Römisch. Mitth.*, 1892, p. 292.

was abandoned by Diocletian and his colleagues, who took up their residence near the frontiers of their dominions, in order the better to provide for the defence of them. Diocletian went to Nicomedia, Maximian to Milan, Galerius to Sirmium, Constantius Chlorus to Treviri.

The reconstitution of the monarchical unity by Constantine, in 323 A.D., did not restore either to Rome or to the Capitol their lost greatness. In 330, Constantine finally forsook Rome and transferred the capital of the Empire to Constantinople.

For two centuries still, the buildings of the Capitol retained their ancient splendour. But life had quitted the Capitol; it was no more than an image of the past. In speaking of the reigns

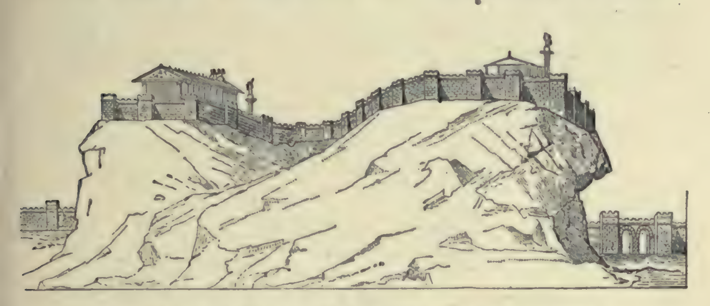


FIG. 11.—THE CAPITOLINE MOUNT, AFTER CANINA.

of Constantius and of Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus boasts twice of the magnificence of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.[1] The poet Ausonius celebrates the "golden temple of the Capitol."[2] And yet, the destruction of Jupiter's temple had already commenced. At the end of the fourth century, Stilicho took away the gilded bronze gates giving access to the cellae,[3] and transported them to Constantinople. In 455, Genseric, the king of the Vandals, who became master of the city, took away half of the golden tiles from the roof.[4]

Of all the edifices of the Capitol, the Tabularium, which was protected by its massiveness and by the construction of the Senatorial palace, is the only one that has been preserved

1 Ammian. Marcell., XVI. 10, 14.

2 Auson., *Clar. Urb.*, XII. 17: "*Aurea Capitoli culmina.*"

3 Zosim., V. 38.

4 Procop., *Wars of the Vandals*, I. 4: "'Εσύλησε δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου νεὼν, καὶ τοῦ τέγους τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀφείλετο μοῖραν."

down to our own time. The other buildings and monuments of the Capitol and the Arx disappeared, in general, before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. No trace of them has survived.[1]

[1] The works carried out since the Renascence, either on the summit or on the sides of the Capitol, have brought about a number of discoveries which permit of the topography of the Capitoline hill being ascertained in many respects. In addition to some isolated discoveries (in 1871, the part of the old road running along the northern side of the Capitol—the present Via Giulio Romano ; in 1872 and 1892, fragments of the wall of Servius, on the site of the Via delle Tre Pile ; in 1888, a private house, on the Piazza del Campidoglio) the chief discoveries are those due to important works executed in two parts of the hill ; on the north-eastern flank of the Arx (during the preparations for the construction of the monument to Victor Emmanuel, since 1881 ; in 1887, 1889, 1892, three fragments of the wall of Servius ; in 1888–1892, sanctuaries consecrated to oriental divinities and also numerous private houses) ; on the Capitol properly so called (in 1865, 1875–1878, works for the Palazzo Caffarelli and for the Palace of the Conservators : discovery of the platform of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ; in 1896, cutting of a new street between the Via Monte Caprino and the upper portion of the Via Monte Tarpeio : discovery of the south-east corner of this same platform).



THE CAPITOL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE CAPITOL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Legends.

The Capitol has had the rare privilege of remaining, throughout the ages, the centre and, as it were, the symbol of the political life of Rome. It has been really the head of it (caput), as its name would seem to have fore-determined.[1]

The importance of its historic *rôle* had made such a deep impression upon people's imagination that the Capitol of bygone days was represented in it, in the Middle Ages, as a splendid palace, all of gold and silver, covered with a glass roof, the walls being resplendent with brass, and sparkling with the most precious stones.[2] Accordingly, the writers of that time most often characterise it by the epithet "*aureum*," calling it the "*Capitolium aureum*."[3] Alone, it was estimated to be worth a third of the riches of the world.[4]

[1] "*Capitolium ideo dicitur quod fuit caput totius mundi*" (*Mirabilia*, ed. Parthey, p. 17, line 18). See what has been said in the first part as to the head found during excavations made in the soil of the Capitoline Mount, p. 5.

[2] "*Graphia aureae urbis Romae*," ed. Lud. Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, 1871, p. 120, line 26. Cf. *Descriptio plenaria totius urbis*, quoted by Arturo Graf, in the exceedingly learned and text-supported work which he has written on the legends relative to the Capitol. The title is: "*Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, I., p. 184. Cf. p. 285. The Anonymous Magliabecchianus (the name of a library in Florence) who wrote in the fifteenth century says: "*In Capitolio, ubi stabant patres et consules ad gubernandam monarchiam mundi, facies murorum erat alta et diu* (?) *auro et argento intus et eboro mire operibus laqueata de qua nil aliud quam vestigia vilissima indeformia reprobatur cum magna diffamia civium in opprobrium famae eorum praedecessorum quorum post obitum vigent virtute et muabili* (?) *fama*." Urlichs, p. 164. Cf. p. 149. This opinion subsisted still in the eighteenth century. Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante*, p. 18.

[3] "*Ideo dicebatur aureum Capitolium quia prae omnibus regnis totius orbis pollebat sapientia et decore*." Graf, *ubi supra*. Cf. *Graphia aureae urbis*.

[4] "*Ly capitoil fut le chief de tout le monde ou les consules et senateurs demoroient por conselhier la citeit et le monde oussi*." (Cf. the passage quoted below of Martin Polonois.) "*Si avoit dedens un temple que ons disoit que illi valloit le tierche part du monde*" (*Le Myreur des Histores*, chronicle of Jean des Preis, called d'Outremeuse, pub. by Ad. Borgnet, 1864, vol. I. p. 69). Similarly, may be read in Giacomo da Acqui. quoted by A. Graf: ". . . *Quod dicitur tertiam partem mundi valere, quod fuit permagna parte auro et lapidibus pretiosis perornatum*."

Its reputation had spread afar.

Was made with marvellous engine,	Par merveilleus engin fu fez,
Within, was very broad and fine,	Molt fu larges et biaus dedans,
Two hundred vaults and arches had,	Voutes et ars i ot deus cenz,

wrote Benoît de Saint-More at the end of the twelfth century.[1]

This marvellous structure could not but contain prodigies. In fact, from the beginning of the eighth century, perhaps even before, a legend had grown up,[2] according to which, in one of the rooms of the Capitol, there had been gathered, by some Emperor or other, statues representing the various nations issued from the sons of Noah and subject to the Roman Empire.[3] They were arranged in a semicircle: the one in the centre represented Rome and dominated the others, which all had a bell attached to their neck. As soon as any one nation sought to revolt, the bell of the statue that represented it began to ring, and the priest whose duty it was to keep incessant watch in the room where the statues stood at once advised the Senate. Thus the vigilance of that body could never be deceived. It was owing to this marvellous help that Augustus had been enabled to opportunely prepare an expedition against the King of Persia, who was defeated and had to pay tribute.[4]

The creation of this precious safeguard, to which was given the name of *Salvatio civium* or simply *Salvatio*, was attributed to Virgil, the great inventor of charms in the eyes of the people of the Middle Ages, the wizard whose witchcrafts were still dreaded by the Popes of the fourteenth century.[5]

As the legend grew popular, it was twisted into an infinite variety of forms. There were different traditions as to the way in which the bell rang. Some held that it rang itself, others

[1] Quoted by Joly in his edition of the *Roman de Troie*, t. I. p. 319, note 1. In the *Croniques des Apostoiles de Rome*, Martin Polonois says: "... *Ce Capitale desus dit estoit le chief du monde. En ce palès estoient acoustumez à demourer les sages et les senatours de Romme pour gouverner le monde. Ou chief de ce palès estoit une haute tournelle fermée de haus murs, couverte d'or et de voirre pour estre miroir a ceulz qui le palais de jour regarderoient*" (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 1412, fo. 34, V.).

[2] It is mentioned by Saint Cosmo of Jerusalem the Hagiopolite (*Comment. of St. Greg. of Naz.*), c. CI., quoted by A. Graf, t. I. p. 189, note 12. The anonymous writer of Salernum makes mention of it in his chronicle composed about 978, *ad ann.* 886, Pertz, *Monum. germ.*, *Hist. Chronicon Salernitanum*, t. III. p. 538.

[3] *Mirabilia*, ed. Parthey, p. 39, line 21. Often the statues number seventy-two, a mystical figure; seventy-two languages issued from the tower of Babel; seventy-two generations repeopled the world after the deluge.

[4] *Mirabilia*, ed. Parthey, p. 39, line 20.

[5] See Du Méril, "*Of Virgil the Enchanter*," in *Archaeological and Literary Miscellanies* (in French), Paris, 1850, p. 425. Cf. A. Graf, I. 196, cap. XVI. According to Petrarch, Pope Clement VI. considered him a dangerous magician. Some traces of this legend still remained in the sixteenth century. Naudé, *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement accusez de magie*, The Hague, 1653, cap. XXI.: *Ly Myreur des Histores*, I. 229; Wright, *Seven Sages*, London, 1885, Percy Society.

that the statue wearing it was the agent. With some, the statue raised its arms ; with others, it turned its back to the statue of Rome.[1] In the chronicle of Jean d'Outremeuse, it cast some earth which it held in its hand. Under this form, the miracle is related in the poem on the Virgin, by William the Clerk, of Normandy, for whom the statues were, not representations of the various provinces of the Empire, but images of the princes who reigned over them.[2]

Each prince that was in vassalage	Chescun prince qùi apendeit
In Rome possessèd his image ;	A Rome s'ymage i aveit ;
And should a prince revolt essay	Quant un des princes revelot
The image of him turn'd away	L'ymage celui tresturnot
From the great image his own face,	De la grant ymage son vis,
And did his eyes from it abase ;	Et en teneit ses eulz eschis ;
And thus it was the Romans knew,	E donc saveient li Romain,
And of the thing were certain too,	E bien en esteient certain,
War from that land to them would come.	Qu'en cel païs lur surdreit guere.

Sometimes the statue represented, not Rome, but Romulus,[3] and the statues surrounding him, Roman or foreign Emperors.[4] According to the chronicle of Salernum, the statues were transported to Constantinople in the time of the Emperor Alexander, who declared that "Roman Emperors had been glorious as long as these statues were venerated." On the night of their installation, a man of surprising beauty appeared to him in a dream, called him by his name, and struck him on the breast, saying to him : "I am Peter, the Prince of the Romans." And the Emperor began to vomit blood and died.

One of the most curious forms of the legend is that which placed at the summit of the Capitol a bronze knight who would turn to the place whence danger threatened, just as a weathercock, thus revealing its locality to the Romans.[5]

[1] *Fiorita*, di Armannino Giudice, Cod. Laurenz, pl. LXII. 12, f. 233 (quoted by A. Graf, p. 197, note 32).

[2] Stengel, *Mittheilungen aus französischen Handschriften der Turiner Universitäts-Bibliothek*, 1873, p. 14, No. 18, quoted by Graf, t. I. p. 193.

[3] This is the case in Jacques de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Chap. VI., *De Nativitate Domini* : "*Romae enim ut testatur Innocentius papa in duodecim annis pax fuit. Igitur Romani templum pacis pulcherrimum construxerunt, et ibi statuam Romuli posuerunt. Consulentes autem Apollinem quantum duraret acceperunt responsum, quousque virgo pareret. Hoc autem audientes dixerunt : Ergo in aeternum durabit. Impossibile enim credebant, quod unquam pareret virgo. Unde in foribus templi hunc titulum scripserunt : Templum pacis aeternum. Sed in ipsa nocte qua virgo peperit, templum funditus corruit. Et ibi est modo ecclesia sanctae Mariae novae.*" Lyons edition, 1554, fol. 8. As to the localisation of the statues, see p. 6. Jacques de Voragine, Bishop of Genoa (1292–1298) visited Rome about this time. Jean d'Outremeuse, already mentioned above, says in his "*Li Romans des Sept Sages*" (p. CCXII.–CCXIII.) that the Emperor's image was in the middle. (A. Graf, p. 197).

[4] *Graphia Aureae Urbis Romae*, p. 120, line 24 : "*In Capitolio fuerunt imagines fusiles omnium regum troianorum et imperatorum.*" Cf. *The Marvels of Rome*, published by Francis Morgan Nichols, London, 1889.

[5] "*Miles vero aeneus, equo insidens aeneo, in summitate fastigii praedicti*

Of this singular legend still more singular explanations were given. As the Hagiopolite is one of the first to speak of it, an eastern origin has been attributed to it; and an attempt has been made to prove it to be the echo of an Arabian tale. Others have imagined even that it was suggested by one of those clocks with movable figures that were such objects of curiosity in the Middle Ages, and a specimen of which may have existed in the Capitol during the last years of the Empire, since the Capitol at that time had become a sort of museum.[1] Is it not more likely that these statues, symbolizing foreign nations, are a souvenir, slightly modified, of the innumerable representations of exotic gods which were assembled in the various sanctuaries situated on the Capitoline Mount?[2] "*In Capitolio . . . deorum omnium simulacra colebantur*," says the grammarian Servius, who lived in the fourth century:[3] indeed, by the side of temples dedicated to most of the Roman divinities were to be seen altars to Isis, Bubastis, Mithra, and a crowd of other gods, and votive monuments so numerous that, from the time of Augustus, a goodly quantity had to be done away with.[4] It may be appositely recalled here that this Emperor had had built in the Campus Martius, expressly for the reception of statues of nations subject to the Roman people, a portico which bore the name "Porticus ad Nationes."[5]

It is well known that the presence in Rome of these foreign gods seemed, as it were, a token of the subjection of the peoples that venerated them, and a manifest proof that they had been abandoned by them. It was, therefore, easy for popular imagination to go a step further and believe that any insurrection of these peoples must be accompanied by some sign of their national god. The origin of the legend is assuredly in this

palatii hastam vibrans, in illam se vertit partem quae regionem illam respiciebat." Alex. Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, I., II. c. 174.

1 Massmann, *Kaiserchronic.*, V., III. p. 424; Bock, *Theologisches Litteraturblatt*, of Bonn, 1870, col. 351.

2 "*Quod primum est Capitolium Romae, salvatio civium, major quam civitas, ibique fuerunt gentium a Romanis captarum statuae, vel deorum imagines, et in statuarum pectoribus nomina gentium scripta, quae a Romanis capta fuerant, et tintinnabula in collibus eorum appensa. . . .*" (*De septem miraculis mundi*, quoted by Graf, p 189). Ramponi, quoted by Graf, p. 193, says also: "*In hoc vero Collideo*" (as to this localisation see what is said further on) "*erat congregatio statuarum deorum omnium gentium.*"

3 Servius Maurus Honoratus, *Comment . . . in Aeneid.*, II. 318. Cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, I. 16; Dion, XLIII. 45, and Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus*, fol. 52.

4 See first part, pp. 20 and 43, and Homo, *Lexicon of Roman Topography* (French), article *Area Capitolina.*

5 Pliny, XXXVI. 27; Sueton., *Nero*, XLVI.; Servius, *ad Aen.*, VIII. 721; Homo, *Lexicon of Roman Topography*, p. 444; Luigi Borsari, *Topographia di Roma antica*, Milan, 1897, p. 286. Pliny speaks of fourteen statues and attributes them to the sculptor Coponius; according to him the portico was built by Pompey. Cf. p. 48.

belief, which, for a time perhaps, like other pagan superstitions, was strengthened by the advent of Christianity.

The situation of this Palladium could, it would appear, be only in the Capitol, the sanctuary of the Roman world. Yet certain writers stated it to be elsewhere, in the Pantheon, in the Coliseum, in the temple of Concord whose ruins, more considerable and imposing than those of the Capitoline edifices, seemed, in fact, to speak of some still loftier destiny;[1] it was even put in the Lateran.[2] In the course of time the Salvatio became a mirror in which were reflected the events that concerned the fortunes of the City,[3] and a protection that kept the Romans from all sudden attacks.[4] The fiction was a natural outcome of the

[1] The *Salvatio* is located in the Pantheon by the German version of the *Mirabilia*: "*Der ander tempel waz genant Pantheon. . . . In dem selbem tempel waren also vil sawlen ale rechter fursten. . . .*" John Lydgate says of the Pantheon, in his version of Boccaccio's *De casibus Virorum*:

> Whyche was a temple old foundacion
> Ful of ydols, up set on lye stages,
> There troughe the worlde of every nacion
> Were of their goddes set up great ymages,
> To every kingdom direct were their visages.
> . . . .

The poet A. Neckam, *De laudibus divinae sapientiae* places the *Salvatio* in the Coliseum (dist. V[a], v. 289):

> Delicias operum si quaeris, cerne colossum
> Et quam tutata est Juno moneta domum,
> . . . .
> At medium tenuit inclita Roma locum.

And Ramponi: "... *In hoc vero Collideo erat congregatio statuarum deorum omnium gentium in sublimi parte ipsius templi, in secretissimo loco existentium, tintinnabulum vero ad collum uniuscuiusque statuae appendebat et sacerdotes die ac nocte semper vicissim vigilantes eas custodiebant.*" William the Clerk, of Normandy, in his poem on the Virgin already quoted, situates the *Salvatio* in the temple of Concord:

At Rome there was, truth to relate,	Verité fu que a Rome aveit
A temple that was very great,	Un temple qui mult esteit,
Built up most magnificently	Edefié mult richement
And founded very anciently,	E fundé ancienement,
Temple of Concord was its name,	Temple de cuncorde aveit nun,
For what reason, I will proclaim.	Si vus dirai par quel resun.

See p. 59, the continuation of this quotation. See the discussion of A. Graf, I. 191–195.

[2] Yâkût, *Arab Descriptions of Rome*, published by Ignazio Guidi (*Archiv. della Società romana di Storia Patria*. Vol. I., p. 173 and following.) A. Graf speaks of these descriptions, t. I., p. 195.

[3] Cancellieri, *Possessi*, p. 98, note 1, *Descriptio Urbis Romae*.

[4] The son of the Duke of Hungary, giving his advice as to what should be done, whether to fight or to wait for help, says:

> No aid by land can henceforth us relieve,
> But that the mirror will it first perceive.
>
> Ne nous poet venir ore par terre nule aïe (aide)
> Que cil du Miraour (ne) l'aient tost oïe (ouïe).

The Destruction of Rome, Ed. Groeber, *Romania*, II. v. 554 See article entitled: *Poem of the Destruction of Rome and the Origins of the Leonine City*

notion, at that epoch existing, of the Capitol as sparkling with silver and covered with a glass roof. Speaking of a tower of this palace, in a passage which has been quoted above,[1] Martin Polonois says that it was covered with gold and ivory, in order to be a mirror to those that might look at the palace by day.[2] As already remarked, the palace of the Capitol was even styled the Mirror-Castle. Now, the magic mirror is said to have likewise been on a tower supported by a hundred marble pillars. "There was a tower at Rome, on which there was a mirror above a hundred marble pillars, and by this mirror one saw when men-at-arms or others came over the sea," writes Jean d'Outremeuse. At night, a fire burned on the top of the tower; it could be seen afar, and mariners made use of it as a beacon. However, if the spell had changed its form, its creator was the same. It was Virgil who, likewise, had predicted that the edifice in which he was, would last until a child should be born of a virgin :

This temple ne'er shall be destroyed,	Jamais cest temple n'iert fondu,
But, in a word, continue there	Ainz sera tut dis en estant,
Until the Virgin child shall bear.	Tant que la uirgene avra enfant.[3]

Consequently the tower fell in when Jesus was born.[4] Others claimed that enemies of the Roman name, German princes, a

(in French), by Philippe Lauer in the *Miscellanies of Archaeology and History of the French School at Rome* (April–June, 1899, p. 317–361). Cf. article of M. Roques, completed by G. Paris in *Romania*, 1901, p. 169. In this poem mention is made of the Saracens destroying in 846 the Crescent Castle (Crescentius, château Saint Ange) and the Mirror-Castle. Same version in the *Golden Legend* and in the *Rhymed Chronicle* of Philippe Mousket (1243), published by Reiffenberg. In the poem of the *Destruction of Rome*, the *Miraour* is at the top of Mount Chevrel, which is no other than Mount Caprino (see further on, p. 109 ; a valet keeps watch at the summit.

There is the mirror so much spoken of :
La est li Miraour, dunt hom a tant parlé.

Contrary to the opinion of certain authors, the *Tor de' Specchi* has nothing in common with this tower.

[1] See p. 58, note 1.

[2] *Croniques des Apostoiles* and again in Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, I. c. 24 : "*Item in Capitolio, quod erat altis muris vitro et auro coopertis,* QUASI SPECULUM MUNDI, *sublimiter erectum, ubi consules et senatores mundum regebant, erat templum Jovis in quo statua Jovis aurea in throno antea erat sedens.*"

[3] William the Clerk, *Poem on the Virgin*. Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, says the same : "*Quaesitus autem vates gloriosus quamdiu a diis conservandum esset illud nobile aedificium respondere consuevit : 'Stabit usque dum pariat* VIRGO.' *Hoc autem audientes philosopho applaudentes, dicebant : 'Igitur in aeternum stabit.'*" At any rate Virgil had written, in the *Aeneid*, that Rome would last as long as the Capitol :

Dum domus Aeneae Capitolii immobile saxum
Accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

(Ch. IX. v. 448.) Virgil had, moreover, fabricated, in favour of the Emperor Titus, a statue that unmasked all the crimes committed in Rome. (*Gesta Romanorum*, c. 57, ed. Oesterley.)

[4] A similar legend had grown up with regard to the temple built on the site now occupied by the Aracoeli church. See Appendix.

king of Sicily, a king of Hungary, even the Carthaginians, knowing that the fate of the city was linked to the preservation of the tower, had contrived to send emissaries to the Emperor—Octavius is generally the one quoted—to persuade him that the tower concealed a fabulous treasure. The Emperor allowed them to dig in the foundations, and they undermined the building to such good effect that it collapsed, but only after they had had time to take flight and escape the anger of the Romans. Thus, Augustus was held to be the last of the Emperors of Rome.[1]

[1] A. Graf. t. I. p. 198, note 36, quotes a great number of legends similar to that of the *Salvatio.* In the city of Avila, in Spain, was a bell which began to ring whenever a misfortune threatened Christendom. Certain towns possessed a silver statue which, standing at the chief entrance, blew a trumpet, as soon as a foreigner approached. On the Alexandrian lighthouse, a statue could be seen pointing to the sea when a hostile fleet was a night's sail from the city; and it uttered a piercing cry when the fleet was in sight. The cry could be heard miles away. Constantinople possessed a chain which kept enemies at a safe distance. The Romans had placed on Mount Gerizim, to protect themselves from the Samaritans, a bird in bronze which cried "*Hebraeus!*" at their approach.



THE CAPITOL FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Progressive Formation of the Senatorial Palace.

THE people of the Middle Ages were the freer to form a fantastical idea of the Capitol, as no traces then existed to show what it had been. The temples of Juno Moneta, Jupiter Custos, and Jupiter Feretrius had been so completely destroyed that, to-day, it is impossible, with any certitude, to say in what exact spot they stood. Until quite recently, there were discussions as to the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the foundations of which have ultimately been discovered. The universal renown of the Capitol was one of the causes of its ruin being so complete. When the Barbarians entered Rome, their first thought was to lay hands on its treasures. The Greeks, commanded by Stilicho, were accused of having carried off to Constantinople the golden plates with which the doors of its temples were covered, and the statues that adorned its interior.[1] Moreover, it was not without secret joy that the Christians saw the downfall of the most venerated sanctuaries of the false gods; and they perhaps contributed to their destruction. As early as the eighth century, they hastened to erect, on the site not long before occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta, the church of Santa Maria in Capitolio, which was partly built with the débris of this temple and of others in its vicinity.[2]

The splendours of the Capitol were already much diminished in the time of Cassiodorus, when they were classed, almost by hearsay, among the marvels of the world.[3]

[1] Cf. p. 53, and Gregorovius, Italian transl., 1901, I. 23, 155, which did not prevent Stilicho from having his statue in Rome.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] *Variar.*, 7, n 6; Migne, 712; Mommsen, (*Mon. hist. german.*, t. XII. p. 205): "*Capitolia celsa conscendere huc est humana ingenia superata vidisse.*" H. Grisar, *Roma alla fine del Monde Antico*, II. 185. Cf. Gregorovius, II. 172.

Then, for a long period, no further mention is made of the Capitol, except in fabulous narrative; it was nothing more than a heap of rubbish, overshadowed by the church of Santa Maria and the small monastery attached to that edifice.[1]

In the eleventh century, a dwelling-house was built above the *Tabularium*, which had been razed in its upper portion, though its huge layers of stone, on the side towards the Forum, defied man's attempts to destroy them and still exist to-day.[2] Nobles belonging to the Corsi[3] family established themselves there; and, as was the case with all lordly dwellings, made of what they built a stronghold whose situation rendered it inaccessible, at least on the front facing the Forum. However, the Emperor Henry IV. attacked it, and destroyed it in the year 1084, the Corsi being supporters of Pope Gregory VII.[4] If it be true that, in the same year, on the 29th of April, he dated from the Capitol an Act approving the assignment of half the town of Civitavecchia, made by the Count de Sasso to the monastery of Farfa, it was out of pure vanity, since he was not resident there. At most, could he have only held sittings in the neighbouring monastery of Santa Maria, as the Capitoline magistrates, subsequently, so often did.[5] After his retreat, the Corsi continued to inhabit their castle, whence Pope Paschalis II. (1099-1118) drove them.[6]

The Capitol was already the political centre of mediaeval Rome. In 1118, at the time of the election of Gelasius II., his partisans assembled there to deliver him from the hands of the Frangipani, who had seized upon his person.[7] Doubtless the prefect of Rome resided there, on account of the market that was held on the Square of the Capitol, as will be mentioned again. In the life of Paschalis II., Pandulphus relates that this Pope, not having approved of the choice of a new prefect, those who sided with this latter received the sovereign pontiff with cries and

[1] Too much importance must not be attached to the passage of the *Cronica Casaurense* (Murat., II². c. 778) in which it is said that in 850 the Emperor Louis II. "*Romam reversus, imperiali laurea pro triumpho a dom. P. Adriano et omni populo et Senatu Rom. in Capitolio est coronatus*," for this chronicle is posterior to the constitution of the Senate, and was composed, therefore, more than three centuries after the event. Moreover, Pope Adrian crowned Louis II. only in 872.

[2] See what has been said about the *Tabularium*.

[3] It descended perhaps from the Corsican colony which had settled in Rome in the time of Pope Leo IV. (847).

[4] "... *Quod ubi rex Henricus ... cognovit vehementer expavit, et illico ad ecclesiam S. Petri rediens, domo Capitolina et Leonina civitate destructa* ... (Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, t. II. p. 368; cf. p. 290). See also Gregorovius, II. 346.

[5] Gregorovius, II. 358, note 26 and p. 522, note 11. The Act is given: "*Actum civitate Romana apud Capitolium.*"

[6] *Liber Pontificalis*, II. 299: "*Parvo igitur praelio, sed horrendo satis, captis domibus subversisque turribus, adeo sunt omnes exterriti ut et patrimonia beati Petri caeterarumque ecclesiarum quae injuste occupaverant redderent* ..."

[7] *Ibid.*, II. 313.

stones, when he passed by the foot of the Capitol on Easter Monday, during the procession which was customary on that day.[1]

An important document furnishes a description of the hill of the Capitol at this epoch, namely the Bull by which the Antipope Anacletus (1130–1138)[2] presented the Benedictines with the monastery of Santa Maria.[3]

According to this document, the greater part of the hill was taken up with enclosures, gardens, and trees, both fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing. No castle is mentioned, but only houses, shops, cellars, crypts, with a few remains of ancient buildings, *parietibus, petris et columnis*; the castle of the Corsi had, perhaps, not disappeared, but, if it still existed, it seemed of such little importance that it was counted among the houses.

In any case, it had not been replaced by a communal edifice: for the Pope gave the Benedictines the whole hill, *montem*

[1] L. Duchesne, *The Author of the Mirabilia* (in French), extracted from the *Miscellanies of Archaeology and History*, t. XXIV. (1904).

[2] Pier Leone, who took the name of Anacletus II.

[3] This Bull has been reproduced many times, by P. Casimiro, *Mem. Istoriche di S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 671: Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, III. 255, an. 1251; Valesio, *Coll. Calogera*, XX. 102; Fea, *Storia delle Arti del disegno* . . . (Rome, 1824, trans. completed by the work of Winkelmann), III. 358. This is the text: "*Anacletus . . . Johanni Abbati s. que Joh. Baptae in Capitolio . . . concedimus et confirmamus totum montem Capitolii in integrum, cum casis, cryptis, cellis, curtibus, hortis, arboribusque fructiferis et infructiferis, cum porticu Camellariae,*[a] *cum terra ante Monasterium, qui locus Nundinarum vocatur, cum parietibus, petris, columnis et omnibus ad eum generaliter pertinentibus, qui istis finibus terminantur a primo latere via publica quae ducit per clivum argentarii, qui nunc descensus Leonis Probi appellatur, et ab alio latere via publica quae ducit sub Capitolium et exinde descendit per limitem et appendicem super hortos quos olim Hildebrandus et Johannes diaconus et heredes Johannis de Guinizzo tenuerunt usque in templum majus quod respicit super Elephantum, a tertio latere ripae quae sunt super fontem de Macello, et exinde revolvendo se per appendices suas super Canaparia usque in carnarium s. Theodori; in quarto vero latere ab eodem carnario ascendit per caveam in qua est petra versificata; exinde descendit per hortum s. Sergii usque in hortum qui est sub Camellaria veniens per gradus centum usque ad primum affinem. Circa eundem vero montem concedimus tibi tuisque successoribus domos, casalinas, cryptas, ergasteria in mercato, totum praedictum montem Capitolii in integrum et caetera omnia quae in monte vel circa montem sunt.*" The donation comprised, therefore, besides Mount Capitolinus, part of the circumambient region, since it gave, as limits for the transfer, the Montanara Square where the elephant was (*Elephantus herbarius*), the church of S. Theodoro, situated at the foot of the Palatine, and the Clivo Argentario on the side of Trajan's Forum. As to the delimitation of the Capitoline region, see what is said further, page 74. This Act informs us also that the hundred steps leading to the Capitol from the Forum were still in existence. They disappeared shortly afterwards. As to the word *Canaparia*, see the chapter devoted to the Tarpeian Mount, p. 107. The rights of those possessing dwellings in the ancient substructures, in the Tabularium, were protected by a Brief of Innocent III., given in 1199, which states that: "*Inferioris vero Camellariae parochiam et ejusdem Camellariae proprietatem; ita quod nulla injuria inferatur habitatoribus ipsius Camellariae ab habitatoribus superioris Camellariae.*" (Gregorovius, t. II. p. 525). It will be remarked that "*in integrum*" is repeated twice in the Bull.

[a] See as to this appellation what is said in the chapter *Tabularium*.

Capitolii in integrum. It may be objected that, when this Bull was renewed by Innocent IV. in 1251, and by Alexander IV. in 1259, it was drawn up in exactly the same terms, although at that time the people certainly possessed on Mount Capitolinus a public edifice called a palace, of which the Papacy could not dispose, but the attachment of the Church is known to formulas already employed; and the manifest inaccuracy of the Act, at a later date, in no wise implies that it did not have its full effect when it was first composed.

The first care of the Romans, when they rose in 1143 against the papal power, was to make for the Capitol. Records, however, do not say whether their object was to occupy any building or stronghold in it, but simply that they desired to re-establish the Senate there. "*Romani . . . in ipso impetu in Capitolio convenientes* (or *venientes*), *antequam Urbis dignitatem renovare cupientes ordinem senatorum . . . constituerunt.*" [1]

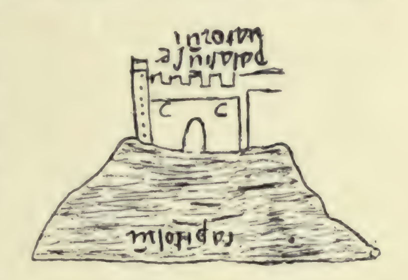


FIG. 12.—FRAGMENT OF THE PLAN CONTAINED IN THE COD. VAT. 1960 (THIRTEENTH CENTURY).

Their anxiety to renew the old traditions of their past, of which they were so immeasurably proud, no doubt urged the Romans to make this seizure, much more than the necessity of securing a good strategic position or of occupying a fortress. This was why they gave to the eminently popular and even plebeian assembly which they then created the name of Senate.

What is certain is that the Senate did hold sittings in the Capitol. In which of its edifices is unknown; perhaps in the dwelling of the Corsi; in any case, within an abode that Arnaud de Brescia deemed unworthy of their majesty, for he hastened to advise the Romans to rebuild the Capitol. "*Reaedificandum Capitolium, renovandum dignitatem sena-*

[1] Otto de Freising, or Freisingen, *Chronicon Liber.*, VII. c. 27; Pertz, *Monum. germ. Hist.*, XX. 263. However, Cardinal Boson says, in the life of Celestine II. (*Liber Pontificalis*, II. 385): "*Circa finem vero sui pontificatus populus Romanus, novitatis amator, sub velamento utilitatis reipublice, contra ipsius voluntatem, in Capitolium senatum erexit.*" Cf. Gregorovius, II. 487, note 57. With regard to the *Ordo senatorum*, see our work on the "*Institutions communales de Rome*," chap. II.

toriam, reformandum equestrem ordinem docuit."[1] The advice was followed. The palace defied even the attack of Pope Lucius II., who was wounded while mounting to the assault, and died on the 15th of February, 1145.[2] From the year 1150, Acts emanating from the Senate bear the mention : *In Capitolio, in consistorio novo palatii.*[3] This palace had apparently the outlines and general aspect shown in the rudimentary sketch of it contained in the manuscript of the Vatican Library 1960. It was of two stories, with a single tower flanking it on the left of the façade. An arched door opened between two round windows ; and battlements crowned its summit. It was, in verity, a fortified retreat prepared for the attacks it was destined to suffer.[4]

In consequence of the presence of the Senate, which monopolised all public powers, the life of the municipality was concentrated in the Capitol. It was on the Square before the Senatorial palace that the people assembled to deliberate respecting their interests. In 1165, they held counsel there, on the occasion of the arrival in Rome of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa ;[5] and again, in 1191, to discuss whether the city of Tivoli should be annexed to that of Rome.[6] These assemblies had taken the name of Parliaments. In order to summon the citizens to them and also to call them to arms, a big bell was placed in a belfry, built, so one may believe, beside the palace. This bell had been captured from the inhabitants of Viterbium ; and, as their country was used as an asylum by Patarian heretics, the bell was called the Patarine.[7] It emphasised everything of importance in the municipal life of Rome ;

1 Otto de Freising, *Gesta Frederici I Imp.*, I. c. 27 ; *Monum. germ.*, XX. p. 366

2 Goffredo di Viterbo and Sicardo, in Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, VII. 461 and VII. 598 ; Gregorovius, II. 527, note 44. It is true, as Luchaire remarks in the *Revue Historique*, March–April, 1903, p. 227, that neither Boson nor Freising speak of violent death. Cf. Tomassetti, *La Pace di Roma*, Rome, 1896.

3 Pertz, *Mon. germ. Hist.*, XIX. 242. Treaty of peace signed on the 17th of February between the Romans and the Commune of Pisa. Marangone, Tartini, *R. Italic. Script.*, I. 373. Cf. Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, VI. 171. Discussion is possible as to the meaning of the expression *Consistorio novo*, and it may be said that there is a reference to a new room built in an already existing palace, and that the expression "*palatii novi*" would be employed, if the palace had just been rebuilt in its entirety Cf. De Rossi, *Piante Iconog.*, p. 82, and Stevenson, *Bullettino della Comm. Arch. Com.*, IX. 91 and p. 18.

4 See the commentary in this plan in J. B. de Rossi's *Piante Iconografiche di Roma*, Rome, 1879, p. 81. A quite similar plan of Rome is to be found in the Bibl. S. Marco or Marciana of Venice. De Rossi has mentioned it, but it is inferior to that of the Vatican. See what is said further on, p. 98, about the plan of Sienna.

5 Otto de Freising, *Gesta Frederici I*, II. 22 ; Pertz, XX. p. 407.

6 "*Nos, senatores almae Urbis, decreto amplissimi ordinis Senatus, acclamatione quoque populi Romani publice Capitolio consistentis, constituimus. . . .*" Murat., *Antiq.*, III. 787.

7 Moroni, *Diz. di Erud.*, VII. 134 ; Cancellieri, *Le due nuove Campane di Campidoglio*

it announced happy or unhappy events, the death of popes, the execution of criminals ;[1] when an execution took place without a sentence of justice, the bell was not rung ;[2] it summoned the magistrates to the meetings of councils held in the palace of the Capitol, and called pleaders to the audiences of the court that held its sittings there.[3] At a subsequent date, Boniface IX. had it hung in the Senatorial palace after this building was repaired. In the time of Gregory XIII. it was put up in the new belfry which the latter had had built.[4]

For not having held sittings in the Capitol, Charles of Anjou, who had been appointed a Senator by the Pope, was most severely blamed by the pontiff.[5] And in fact, it was in the Capitol that judgment was pronounced in the various trials,[6] and that discussions took place on all matters of municipal interest. To hold an audience there was to establish its supremacy conclusively in the government of the City. The Capitol, at that time, was considered as a fortress. Charles of Anjou dated his missives : *Rome in arce Capitolii*.[7]

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Senatorial palace underwent an important modification. The loggia was then the necessary complement of every public building. The people met there to discuss about their interests, sheltered from the sun and weather ; and the magistrates used it, when they had need of it, as a rostrum. The Capitol being, as already seen, a cubic structure of masonry, a proper rostrum was wanting. In the year 1299, the two Senators Pietro di Stefano and Andrea

[1] Innumerable examples might be quoted ; the following, relating to a later date, is curious : "*Die Mercurii* 8 *augusti*" (1414), writes Antonio di Pietro, "*venerunt nova in Roma quomodo rex Vinceslaus erat mortuus de qua nova tota Roma . . . fuit gavisa . . . et ad satisfactionem populi fecerunt pulsare ad gaudium campanam Capitolii*." (Muratori, *R. I. Script.*, XXIV. 1045). The same author informs us that at this moment the Capitol possessed two bells. "*Die X Veneris* (August, 1414), *propter timorem Populi, Dni. Conservatores . . . fecerunt pulsare ambas campanas Capitolii*," and further, under date of the 10th of September of the same year : "*Cum pulsatione ambarum campanarum Capitolii . . .*" (*ibid.*). Cf. for the sixteenth century, M. Alberini, *Il Sacco di Roma*, published by Orano, 1902, pp. 223, 224, 232. People then used to say "*la campana*," without any addition, to designate the bell of the Capitol.

[2] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 1059.

[3] As late as 1580, the statutes of the city (Book I., art. LVIII.) prescribed that it must ring a quarter of an hour before each sitting, and before each audience.

[4] See p. 150.

[5] Letter written from Perugia, dated May 18th, 1265, in Raynaldus *ad an.*, No. 14 ; Delgiudice, *Codice diplom. di Carlo I e II*, Naples, 1863, I. 4. Charles of Anjou had established himself in the Lateran. In 1268. he installed himself as conqueror in the Capitol, after the defeat of Conradin : "*Rex Carolus copiosam ex suis eligens comitivam. . . . Romam primo repentens rupem Tarpeiam et Capitolii saxa victoriosus ascendit.*" Sabae Malespinae *Historia*, in Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, VIII. 864.

[6] "*Cives Romani et aliae personae in capitolina Curia litigantes.*" Act of the 15th of May, 1269, in Vitale, *Stor. dipl. dei Senatori*, p. 165. Cf. Pertz, XXVIII. 611 for the year 1294.

[7] Delgiudice, *ut supra*, II., 203, 204, 210.

di Normanni undertook the construction of one.[1] It is probable that the funds required for this considerable expenditure were obtained by the amounts thenceforward to be stopped out of the Senators' salaries. The statutes of 1363, which for the most part merely confirmed and codified ancient usages, imposed this due and fixed it at a hundred florins, *i.e.*, at an eighteenth of the salary.[2] Even before that date, Cola di Rienzo had exacted the same sum from all barons having exercised senatorial functions, no doubt because they had acquired the habit of escaping the obligation.[3]

THE CARROCCIO.

When the Emperor Frederick II. presented the Romans with the war chariot, the *carroccio* of the Milanese which he had captured at the battle of Cortenova (1237), it was transported to the Capitol and kept there with the care somewhat imperiously required by the Emperor from his distant subjects;[4] and a commemorative inscription was placed in the part of the palace where now stands the modern bell-tower.[5] After being lost for centuries, this inscription was recovered in 1727, according to what Cancellieri says,[6] but it was broken into three pieces. In 1744, the Communal Council decided to place it in the inner courtyard of the Senatorial palace, on the architrave of the gate that opened on the side of the prisons.[7] To-day, it may be seen in the staircase of the bell-tower, with other inscriptions and standard linear measures.[8]

THE MARKET.

The open space before the Capitol, between the Aracoeli church and the *Monte Caprino*, exactly in the *intermontium*,

[1] *La Loggia del commune di Roma*, article of De Rossi and Camillo Re, *Il Campidoglio e le sue adiacenze nei secolo XIV. Bullettino della Commissione Archeol. Comunale di Roma* an. X. 1882, pp. 97 and 130.

[2] Book III., article I. As the Senatorial magistracy lasted only six months, and there were usually two senators, the total sum employed for the maintenance and repairing of the palace came to four hundred florins.

[3] *Vita de Cola de Rienzi*, attributed to Fiortifiocca, Bracciano, 1624, p. 52.

[4] Chronicle of Francesco Pipini, in Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, IX. 658, and *Antiq.*, II. 491. When sending the *carroccio*, the Emperor recommended the Romans to keep it carefully, and to threaten with death anyone that should seek to destroy it. (*Antichità Long.*, Milan, 1792, Dis. XVIII., *Il Carroccio*; Pertz, *Mon. germ. Hist.*, XXVI. 86.)

[5] Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Aevi.*, t. II. p. 401, Disc. XXVI.

[6] *Le due Campane*, p. 20.

[7] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 39, fol. 947. Sitting of the 3rd of December, 1744.

[8] Forcella, I. n. 246; Tofanelli, p. 139.

must have been used as a market from very ancient times. In the Bull of Anacletus already mentioned, it is said that the hill of the Capitol is given to the Benedictine monks *cum terra ante monasterium qui locus Nundinarum vocatur . . . domos . . . . ergasteria in mercato . . .*[1] About 1130, therefore, a market, with its accompanying booths and stalls, existed on the Square of the Capitol. Grains, vegetables, and other commodities of small bulk, and easily transportable to the spot, were sold there, whilst the cattle-market was held below, in the Forum, at that time called the *campo vaccino*, from this circumstance. The churches of S. Giovanni and S. Biagio received the epithet *in Mercatello*, on account of their proximity to the market-place.[2] The consuls of the corporations, still rare at this epoch, were obliged to hold their court at the foot of a tower which stood not far from there, the *Torre del Mercato del Cancelliere*.[3] A fine of a hundred lire, subsequently doubled, punished the consuls who ventured to infringe the prescription.[4] This tower was destroyed at the time of the combats which followed the entry of the Emperor Henry VII. into the city. At least, we read in the *Rendages de Gile*,[5] under date of the 28th of May, 1312 : " Item, for pikes, hooks and other instruments brought this day and in this place to demolish the tower of the 'Cancelier,' VII florins and III sols." What is certain is that Pope Boniface IX. (1389–1404)

[1] See p. 66, note 3.

[2] The church of S. Giovanni is situated on the Piazza Aracoeli, near the palace of Muti-Bussi. It bears at present the name of S. Venanzio de Camerinesi. The church of S. Biagio is situated near the steps of S. Maria Aracoeli, in the *Via della Pedacchia*. It bears the name of B. Rita (Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, pp. 546, 548). On the other side of the hill was a church called *S. Lorenzo a pie del Mercato*, which has since become *S. Lorenzo a Monti* or *S. Lorenzolo ai Monti* or *Lorenzo de Ascesa* (Armellini, p. 164). The whole quarter bore the name of *in pede mercati*; this name is mentioned in an Act relating a right possessed by the hospital of S. Giovanni, called *Sancta Sanctorum*, over a house situated in the neighbourhood. "*Una domus sita in pede Merchati quam habent Johannes Stefanelli ceapoli et heredes quondam Pauli ceapoli, ad respondendum societati S. Sanctorum, annuatim in festo Assumptionis de medio mense Augusti Flor. V. intra ambos.*" (*Archivio di Stato*, Catasto di Sancta Sanctorum del 1435, fol. 93.)

[3] Villani (Book X. c. 66): "*La bella e nobile torre ch' era sopra la Mercatantia, a piè del Campidoglio che si chiamava la torre del Cancelliere.*" It must have occupied almost the site of the Astalli palace of to-day.

[4] Statutes of 1603, Book III., art. LXXV : "*Quod consules artium Urbis reddant jus a Turre Mercati supra versus Capitolium.*" An obligation confirmed by the statutes of the corporation of the woolmongers, dated the 26th of October, 1388. "*Et quod consules dicte artis . . . debeant sedere et jus reddere a Turri pedis Mercati supra versus Capitolium et per totum forum secundum formam statutorum Urbis.*" (E. Stevenson, *Statuti della Lana*, p. 162.) Gomez Albornoz, a Roman senator, ratifying the statutes of the *Mercanti* 1377, expressly stipulates that the consuls shall render justice in this place. (Gatti, *Stat. de Mercanti*, p. 109. Cf. Gregorovius, III. 240.) The statutes of 1519–1523 again impose this obligation (Book III., art. XL.); but it seems that the tower was no longer in existence.

[5] The *Rendages* were accounts kept by Giles (Egidio) of the expenses of the imperial Court and annotated by him in French. (See Gregorovius, III. 238, note 43, and for the passage following, p. 240, note 60.)

had it razed ; but it was rebuilt shortly after, and lasted a long time.[1]

This market was a dangerous neighbourhood for the Capitoline magistrates. In 1353, for instance, on the 15th of February, the people proceeded in a mass thither, as corn was becoming scarce. They found but a small stock of supplies ; and what there was only at a very dear price, a state of things for which they held the Senators responsible. One of these, Stefanello Colonna, succeeded in escaping ; the other, Bertoldo Orsini, was stoned to death.[2]

Each shopkeeper, each dealer had his stall, his bench, which belonged to him personally, and which was obtained through a procedure of sales and assignments. Before the stalls were sorts of porticoes where the goods on sale were exposed.[3]

In the fifteenth century, the market was held once a week, on Wednesday. But, at that epoch, the centre of the City life had been displaced, and was in the quarter of the Piazza Navona. The chief corporations had each their street where most of the shops of each art or trade were together. Consequently, there was an outcry for the removal of the market of the Capitol to the Piazza Navona.

Guillaume d'Estouteville, Cardinal de Rohan, had promised the removal as well as many other things, with a view to obtaining the office of camerlingo, after the death of Cardinal Latino (Orsini). He kept none of his promises except this one, says Infessura.[4] On the 3rd of September, 1477, the market was held for the first time on the Navona square.

[1] Moroni, *Diz. di Erudiz.*, XLIV. 215.

[2] Matteo Villani., *Ist.*, Lib. III. c. 57. Cf. Gregorovius, III. 423.

[3] In the inventory of the property of the S. Giovanni hospital, drawn up in 1462, and which is in the *Archivio di Stato*, under the significant denomination *Maremagnum*, are the following mentions (fol. 63). *An.* 1332. *Johannes Nardonius Notarius Regionis Columnae donavit hospitale* (*S. Joannis*) *porticale cum quatuor furcis et lapidibus unius banco et uno lapide et unum alium archum seu porticale ubi sunt duo furce et unam domum sitam juxta palatium Capitolii in foro publico juxta res Salutii, res Butii Bonaguara et alios fines.—An.* 1344. *Domina Johanna uxor Francisci Johannis Vari et filii et filie fecerunt refutationem hospitali de juribus super duobus lapidibus de Mercato simul juncte cum porticali supra ea quae sunt Francisci Margani.* (*Ibid.*, fol. 263.)—*An.* 1392. *Johannes filius Butii Jacobelli . . . vendiderunt Petro Tramundi domum terrineam solaratam et tegulatam cum sala et camera, columnato et stacio ante se in platea in contracta Mercati, cui ab uno latere tenet Raucius Camicia, ab alio Jacobellus Marrosi ante platea Mercati, pro pretio LXV Flor. auri.* (*Ibid.*, fol. 264.)—*An.* 1393. *Super domo de Merchato ubi vendunt vasa. Domina Andrea uxor Bonanni Carincie donavit Margherite filie sue uxor Nicolai Speczia maczo domum terrineam et solaratam cum lovio ante se discoperto, et porticali ante se cum locis seu staciis ante se ubi venduntur vasa terrinea in die fori, de quibus locis unus vadit usque ad duos lapides fixos in terris.* —*An.* 1441. *Domina Jacoba uxor Johannis Paparelli reliquit Bartholomeo filio Vannocie filie sue domum de Mercato.* (*Ibid.*, 264, 265.) In the Act of the confraternity *Sancta Sanctorum*, quoted above, p. 71, note 2, we read : *Tres lapides simul juncti in loco Merchati in quibus soliti sunt vendere calzectarii qui nunc vacant.*

[4] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 83. The Communal Council, which was beginning to be organised, had made itself the interpreter of the general sentiment.

However, for a long time still, shops continued to exist on the old site of the market. Infessura relates that, on the 21st of January, 1486, the report of the assassination of Pope Innocent VIII. being circulated, hardly any business[1] was done. In 1607 a fruitwoman established herself there with the authorisation of the Communal Council.[2]

The Market-place, as far as the Torre Mercati, formed, with the portion of the hill occupied by the Senatorial palace and the



FIG. 13.—THE CAPITOL SEEN FROM THE FORUM IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. RECONSTITUTION OF MARK SADLER. (*Vestigi delle Antichità di Roma*, pl. I.)

S. Maria Aracoeli church, a district distinct from the rest of the City, as regarded matters of justice. Guilty persons could be

[1] "*Propter quod tota Urbs tremuit et magno cum timore aliquod spatim stetit; et apothecarii omnes eorum apothecas clauserunt et hi qui in foro erant capitolino tanto fuerunt timore affecti ut vix medietatem rerum, quas vendendi causa exposuerant, potuerunt recolligere; palatium ipsum Capitolii, ubi ego eram, incontinenti clausum et diligenter custoditum extitit.*" (Page 197.)

[2] Act of the Council dated 1607, renewing to the widow Santina and her sons the right accorded in 1601 to her husband, Nicola Sammaresco, to sell fruit: *usum platee existenti in pede descensus Capitolii et schalarum Araceli, ita ut dicta platea uti, frui et potiri in eorum exercitiis . . . possint.* (Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 31, fol. 212.)

proceeded against, within its boundaries, by way of inquisition.[1] "*Item de excessibus commissis in Curia Capitolii. Item de excessibus commissis a pede turris mercati supra in plano capitolii. In platea Sancte Marie de araceli a sancto Sergio et Baccho et a pede vie fave toste supra versus capitolium et in plano capitolii.*" (Statutes of 1363, Bk. II. art 5, *De Inquisitionibus.*) On the other hand, those who afforded refuge in it to malefactors were punished with an exceedingly heavy fine, fifty lires. (Bk. II. art 68, § 3, *De receptatoribus homicidarum et latronum.*[2]) This article gives a more complete delimitation than that contained in the preceding one, concerning the district depending on the Curia Capitolina and submitted to an especial government: yet they do not quite agree with each other. In the second article is the following: "*Quod quicumque de contrata mercati seu de habitantibus in contrata mercati vel in contrata infra scripta receptare retinere presumpserit in domo sua aliquem qui offenderit venientem vel redeuntem a Capitolio a sancta Maria curti a domo nutii Candarulis a Sancto Johanne de merchato usque ad Capitolium super versus Capitolium et a domo taglientorum versus s. Mariam de aracoeli usque ad Capitolium et a carcere ss. Petri et Pauli versus fabam tostam et a sancto Sergio et Baccho versus Capitolium et a domo de roccia versus Capitolium planum et a domibus russorum versus planum et a s. Nicolao de funariis versus planum et Capitolium.*" Of these various topographical indications, some only can be identified with any certainty; but they are sufficient to clearly determine the district in question. The church of S. Maria de Curte (there are several of this name in Rome), which was demolished in 1594 to enlarge the nunnery of Tor de' Specchi, was near the rostrum of their church. That of S. Giovanni in Mercato or Mercatello still exists under the name of S. Venanzio de Camerinesi, opposite the Muti palace, as has been said. It was near there that the Chancellor's Tower stood, which has just been spoken of. The prison of St. Peter and St. Paul is the ancient Mamertine prison, on the site of which had been built a church dedicated to St. Peter, and since replaced by the church of S. Giuseppe de Falegnami. The *Via Faba Tosta* seems to have been a road skirting the foot of the Tabularium and joining the Via Capitolina; it may be believed to have passed over the Arch of Septimus Severus and must have had almost the same course as the *Clivus Capitolinus*, in its first portion. The commencement of it is visible in the reconstitution by Sadler

[1] That is to say that justice could itself undertake a prosecution, without being moved to it by the complaint of a third party.

[2] It will be seen further on that the Capitoline palace was itself submitted to an especial set of regulations.

given above, and it appears also to be very clearly indicated in a reconstitution by Ficoroni.[1] An allusion is perhaps made to this road in the Bull by Anacletus : " *Via publica quae ducit sub Capitolium*." The church of S. Sergio e Bacco has completely disappeared ; but it may be asserted to have stood between the Arch of Septimus Severus and the Rostra, on the *Via Faba Tosta*, not far from the temple of Saturn.[2] The *della Rossia* house was, doubtless, so called on account of the street of this name which traversed Mount Caprino. The house of the *Rossi* was situated near the church of S. Maria della Consolazione, at the foot of the hill. The church of S. Nicola de Funariis has become the S. Orsola a Tor de' Specchi, in the street of this name, on the other side of Mount Caprino. Thus, the district dependent on the Capitoline jurisdiction comprised the eastern portion of the hill, almost as far as the middle of Mount Caprino, with a piece taken in, on the side of the City, extending to the Market Tower ; and, while somewhat more limited in area, it differed but little from that formerly assigned to the monks of Aracoeli by the Bull of Anacletus.[3]

[1] Francesco de Ficoroni, *Vestigia e Rarità di Roma antica*, Rome, 1744, plate on page 62.

[2] Designs of Heemskerck, Berlin Kupferstich-Kabinet, 71, D. 2, n. 12, 56, 80.

[3] See the exceedingly conclusive treatise of Camillo Re, *Il Campidoglio*, p. 117 and the following ones ; the *Liber Pontificalis*, and Armellini.



THE CAPITOL IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

TRANSFORMATION OF THE SENATORIAL PALACE.

THE jubilee year of 1300 brought such a number of pilgrims to Rome that the bridge of St. Angel's was crowded with them.[1] The temporary effect of this influx of strangers was to swell the resources of the public treasury; and, by means of the money so obtained, the Capitoline palace was completely restored. It was flanked with a second tower. Indeed, the alterations carried out, at this time, were so considerable that the palace might be regarded as entirely rebuilt. In 1303, the Senator Guido di Pilo dated his judgments and decrees: *In palatio novo Captolii.*[2] In other respects, the palace retained the aspect of a fortress. It possessed towers, battlemented walls, a double enclosing outer wall, and a wooden bridge,[3] the usefulness of which was more than once experienced during those troublous times.[4] Recent excavations have shown that this edifice stood above the *Tabularium*, like the castle of the Corsi, on the side of the *Via Capitolina*; a few vestiges of foundation works have been brought to light, as also some mural paintings, one of which represents the geese of the Capitol.[5]

The Emperor Henry VII., who had taken possession of the Capitol by main force, at the time of his entry into Rome in

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, ch. XVIII. v. 28. See *Commentary* of Cornaldi, Rome, 1888, p. 162.

[2] Gregorovius, III. 199, note 83. The Act is that of the 17th of April, 1303.

[3] *Vita de Cola de Rienzi* da Tommaso Fiortifiocca, Bracciano, 1624, p. 265. On the author, see Zefirino Re, *La Vita di Cola di Rienzo.*

[4] The aspect of the Capitol, at this date, is shown on the seal of the Bull of Louis of Bavaria. The golden Bull of Louis of Bavaria was published for the first time by Huillard-Bréholles in the *Memoirs of the Society of the Antiquarians of France*, 1872, p. 82. It is preserved at Aix-la-Chapelle.

[5] F. Gerardi, *Scoperta di pregevoli avanzi dell' antico palazzo comunale sul Campidoglio. Bulletino della Comm. Arch. Comunale*, 1899 (an. XXVII.), fasc. 1, p. 81. These paintings are at present in the large hall of the Senatorial palace.

1310,[1] and had held sittings in it and appointed magistrates,[2] stripped it, in 1320, of all its defences.[3] In order to give it back something of its strength, and with a view to warding off an attack, the tribune Cola di Rienzo, who made it the seat of his government on May 20th, 1347, took care to partly wall up and partly board up a colonnade which was perhaps that of the loggia.[4] Justice was rendered in the hall of the ground floor, which was supported by pillars.[5] It was, however, in the upper hall that the Senator held his audiences. The Statutes of 1363 laid this down as a prescription.[6] The Council presided over by the Senator, the *assectamentum*, assembled in it.[7] This hall received its light though wide doorways, perhaps three in number,[8] leading out on to balconies. From one of them, Rienzo harangued the people who had been stirred up against him and who attacked him with arrows and stones (October 8th, 1354).[9] These doorways gave issue on to the façade and on the opposite side of the palace.[10] Other rooms there were in which the Senator's judge assessor, his lieutenant, and other officers held their sittings.[11] From the bridge already mentioned, a staircase mounted to the chief entrance. It was reconstructed in 1348, at the same time that the staircase of

1 Gregorovius, III. 228.

2 *Rex fecit senatorem et iusticias in Capitolio sedens.* (Archiv. Stor., Ital., ser. II. vol. II.; App., p. 332; Baluze, *Misc.*, I. 127.)

3 Montagnani-Mirabili, Pietro Paolo, *Il Museo Capitolino*, Rome, 1828, p. 28.

4 "*Puvi fece stecconiare lo palazzo de Campituoglio tra le colonne e chiuselo de lennamme.*" *Vita de Cola de Rienzi*, Bracciano, 1624, p. 53, ed. Camillo Re, p. 53.

5 Lello Capocci was beheaded: "*Intus in palatio Capitolii ad pedem secundae columnae ubi tenetur ratio.*" Ant. di Pietro, in Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 1055. Likewise: "*Actum in palacio Capitolii in sala inferiori ubi ius redditur.*" Approbation of the statutes of the woollen art, dated the 4th of August, 1389. Stevenson, *Statuti dell' arte della Lana*, p. 53.

6 *In aula superiori palatii faciat (senator) sui copiam et prestet omnibus audientiam.* Book III., art. XII. Likewise: "*Laurentius de Amedeis notarius syndicus procurator communis Tyburis ad ostium scalarum sale secunde palatii Capitolii cum introitu ad magnificum virum Johannem de Cerronibus senatorem urbis habere non possit protestatus. . . .*" (6 June 1352). Archiv. Stor. Capit., Prot. 649, 3, Serroneus Paulus, note. The Senator, however, sometimes rendered justice, as will be seen, at the door of the church of Santa Maria Aracoeli.

7 "*Actum in sala maiori palatii capitolii ubi consuetum est fieri Assectamentum.*" Stevenson, *ubi supra*, p. 24.

8 Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes*, I. 149. It concerns, however, an Act dated in the year 1451. C. Re, *Bullettino della Commis. Archeol. Com. di Roma*, an. X., 1882, p. 107.

9 *Tante fuero le valestrate e li verruti che a li baiconi non poteo durare. Vita*, p. 262. The expression *li baiconi* is to be noted.

10 In the narrative of the death of the tribune, Pelicciaro is made to go alternately from one balcony to the other, to spy Rienzo, who was seeking to escape by the rear of the palace, and so to inform the people on the Square of these endeavours.

11 October 18th, 1368. "*Actum in palatio Capitolii in Camera D. Johannis de Amelia Collateralis predicti Senatoris (Gentilis de Varano) ubi assectamentum factum fuit de mandato D. Senatoris*" (2 July, 1399). They also held sittings elsewhere. "*Actum in Capitolio apud altare inter Cancellos sale superioris*" (Gatti, *Statuti dei Mercanti di Roma*, p. 98, 120).

S. Maria Aracoeli was built, with stones taken from the ruins of the temple of Quirinus.[1]

It was on these steps that the people held their parliaments. For the most part, the crowd overflowed on to the Square.[2]

Misdeeds committed in the precincts of the palace were punished with a fourfold penalty.[3]

The tribune Rienzo had caused a chapel to be erected in the great hall of the palace, "*una bella capella, rinchiusa con ferri stagnati.*"[4]

Under the pontificate of Boniface IX. (1389-1404), and by his order, important alterations and other works were executed in the Capitol, which had been partly destroyed in the fire kindled by the rioters at the time of the murder of Cola di Rienzo. The rooms to be used by the Senator and his judges were rebuilt; but the construction was in brick, and very ugly.

When Boniface IX. entered Rome, it was as its master. He imposed laws on the Romans, and insisted on the Senator being, thenceforth, undisturbed by the bannerets and other popular magistrates,[5] in the functions he exercised. In order that the representatives of his authority whom he sent to sit in the Capitol—that is to say, the Senators whose nominations he kept as his prerogative—should be assured a peaceful possession of power, he had the two towers strengthened, and perhaps raised higher, which already existed on the western front of the Capitol, but which had been dismantled, if not completely

1 "*Quidam Otto Mediolanensis senator Urbis expoliavit templum (Quirini) et ex ornamentis facti sunt gradus in Aracoeli et gradus quibus ascenditur in aedificium Capitolii.*" De Rossi, *Studi e documenti*, an. III. 60. Cf. Camillo Re, p. 100. The reference is to Ottone, who exercised his magistracy in 1348 (Olivieri, p. 222). The temple of Quirinus was situated on the Quirinal, to the north of the Alta Semita. The steps leading from the ground to the Square of the Capitol were constructed only in the sixteenth century. Previously, access to the palace was obtained by paths winding up the sides of the hill. The absence of the staircase is clearly visible in De Rossi's plans.

2 "*Congregato magnifico populo in platea ante palatium Capitolii ad sonum campanae et vocem praeconum*" (19 August, 1309). Pflück-Hartung, *Iter Italicum*, p. 603. "*In nomine domini Congregato Magnifico populo romano in scalis et platea ante palatium Capitolii de mandato Mag. dom. Anibaldi domini Riccardi de Anibaldis, Riccardi domini Fortisbrachii de filiis Ursi, dei gratia Regiorum in urbe Vicariorum, ad sonum campane et vocem praeconum ad parlamentum ut moris est. . . .*" (4 May, 1321). *Archiv. della R. Soc. Romana di St. Patria*, X. 187, Gamurrini G. *Documenti dell' Anglica.* "*Congregato magnifico et excelso populo romano ad parlamentum in scalis et platea ante palatium Capitolii.*" (Bull of the year 1354; Camillo Re. p. 100.) Many other cases might be cited in which the people assembled to deliberate in front of the Capitol, and on the steps of the palace even, since that was the usual place for their meetings.

3 "*Si vero quis in palatio Capitolii a prima porta supra . . . malleficium commictatur tunc pene quadruplicentur.*" Statutes of 1363, Bk. II., art. 111.

4 *Vita*, p. 112. Cf. note 11 on preceding page.

5 Theiner, *Codex diplom. S. Sedis*, III. 78; Vitale, p. 601. Convention signed between the Pope and the Romans on the 8th of August, 1393, violated by the people immediately after and imposed by force in 1394. Villari, *Saggi storici*, Bologna, 1890, p. 283.

destroyed by the Emperor Henry VII.[1] Thereafter, they bore the name of the towers of Boniface IX. These two towers are still standing, and frame the gate that formerly led to the prisons and that to-day give access to the offices of the various municipal services.

The Lions of the Capitol.

An old tradition enjoined on the Romans the duty of possessing a lion. "*Roma formam leonis habet quia ceteris bestiis quasi rex praeest*," wrote Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, in his treatise on images.[2] So, for a long time, a living lion was kept in the Capitol. The "keeper of the lion" is mentioned among the persons belonging to the family of Gulielmo Stendardo, the Vice-Senator, in two missives of Charles of Anjou, Senator of Rome. These missives are dated in 1283 and 1284.[3] The Statutes of 1363 appropriate part of the proceeds of the games of the Testaccio to the pay of the keeper, "as long as the lion shall live."[4] No doubt the animal's end seemed near at the moment; for the Capitoline magistrates were just then despatching an embassy to their Florence colleagues, to beg them for one of the lions they possessed.[5]

But in 1408 the lion happened to escape. The marshal's patrol met him at the foot of the Capitol staircase; and the officers ordered him to be caught, says the chronicler, and put back in his cage, where there was another lion.[6] In 1414, the lion killed several children that had come too near him; and, in spite of the veneration in which he was held, it was decided to do away with him. He was put to death one Sunday morning in November, and his carcass was taken to the dwelling of the chief of the Ripa quarter, where he was buried.[7]

However, it was not possible that so venerable a tradition should be abandoned; and it was not long before another lion

[1] Th. de Nyem, *De Scismate*, ed. Erler, p. 142. These towers are visible on the seal of the Bull of Louis of Bavaria.

[2] *De Imag. mundi*, I. 28; *Patrol.*, CLXXII.

[3] Vitale, *Storia diplom. dei Senatori*, p. 100, 191.

[4] "*Quod tubatores, banditores . . . custosque leonis cum leo in Capitolio vixerit et fuerit expediens pabula prebere leoni de pecunia ludi predicti.*" Book III., art. LXXX.

[5] Letter of seven Reformers of the *Banderesi* and of the four chiefs of the company of Cross-bowmen to the Art-Priors and the Gonfalonier of Justice, dated the 8th of April, 1363. "*. . . Quatenus penes vos curaret efficaciter operari ut vestro beneficio aliquem ex vestris leonibus habere possimus in alma Urbe tenendum, uti nobis semper est hactenus consuetum.*" C. Re, p. 103, note 2; the Florentines possessed several lions. Some years before, four had been born, two males and two females. Matteo Villani, Book V. 68. They were an object of pride, and had a special keeper. Perrens, III. 366.

[6] Antonio di Pietro, Muratori, *R. Italic Script.*, XXIV. 995.

[7] *Ibid.*, col. 1050.

was bought, who soon died. He left a keeper that his loss deprived of a living. This keeper complained all the more loudly as he had been appointed for life. He recalled his long services, proved that he had no other resources ; and the result was that the Conservators maintained him in his functions. For the rest of his days, he was keeper to a lion that no longer existed, with all the advantages and profits appertaining to such an office.

Later, there was a keeper of the horse of Marcus Aurelius, which was in bronze.[1]

The statutes drawn up in 1469 speak of the lion ; but it does not follow that there was one alive at this period ; for the new text was, in many parts, copied literally from the old one, without any regard to actual circumstances.[2]

Occasionally, the lion of the Capitol served as an instrument of punishment. In 1328, the Prior of the Augustines was cast into his den for having refused to celebrate the mass at St. Peter's, on the coronation of Louis of Bavaria.[3]

In the Capitol also were figured representations of the emblematic lion. One was painted above the entrance of the second gate of the Capitol. It was a ferocious-looking animal, gazing pityingly at a small dog lying at its feet. The following inscription explained the symbol :

Iratus recole quod nobilis ira leonis
In sibi prostratos se negat esse feram.[4]

It was usual to show this image as a lesson, doubtless, and a warning to each new senator that entered on his office.[5]

The other representation was a lion in stone, or rather a group composed of a lion attacking a horse. It was placed at the top of a large staircase giving access to the Capitoline palace, before the work advised by Michael Angelo had modified the façade.[6] It was by the side of this lion that criminal

1 "*Privilegium Dominorum Conservatorum . . . pro Antonio Iacobelli Tutii Toni custode leonis et officialis ad vitam, de confirmatione officii sui. . . . Dat. Apud Aracoeli XXV, 7bris MCCCCXXI.— Exigit tue devotionis et fidelitatis sinceritas . . . tu qui cum custos leonis . . . ad vitam existens. Leo dicti palatii quem magno tempore custodiveras mortuus est nec habeas ad praesens cui pabula prebeas prout prebere teneris. . . .*" (*Archivio di Stato*, Reg. della Camera Capitolina, an. 1421–1425, fol. XLVII.) In 1420, the keeper of the lion received a ducat and two-thirds per half-year ; three ducats and a half were devoted to the keep of the lion and to the purchase of a living animal which was given him every month. *Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Camer., vol. VI., fol. 260. See p. 140.

2 In the statutes of 1519–1523, however, no mention is made of the living lion.

3 Gregorovius, III. 297 ; C. Re, p. 104.

4 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. VI., part 5, p. 4, No. 3 ; Forcella, *Isc. di Roma*, I. n. 6.

5 Ch. Huelsen, *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols*, p. 17. Signorili says : "*In ingressu secundae portae Capitolii et in limite scriptum, et fertur de more ostendi solitum cuilibet senatori cum officium intrabat.*" C. Re, p. 105.

6 In the biography of Cola di Rienzo already quoted, p. 43, 268, we read : "*Fo*

sentences were carried out. On market-days, certain malefactors and insolvent debtors were made to sit there, as on a pillory, with mitres on their heads, on which was indicated their offence, their faces being smeared with honey.[1] Those who were condemned had sometimes to salute the lion as representing the greatness of Rome.

This group was still in its position, in 1500, when the



FIG. 14.—GROUP OF THE LION AND THE HORSE BEFORE ITS RESTORATION. (DE CAVALERIIS, *Antiq. Stat. Urbis Romae Liber*; Rome, 1746, pl. 79.)

Milanese painter Prospettivo saw it.[2] On the demolition of the staircase, it was transported to the Square of the Capitol,

Martino desmantato la soa cappa . . . e legatole le mano dereto, fo fatto inninocchiare ne le scale, canto lo lione, ne lo loco usato.—Preso (Cola) per le braccia liberamente fo addutto pe tutte le scale sensa offesa fino a lo luoco de lo lione dove li aitri la sententia vuodo ; dove sententiato li aitri havea la fo addutto." See also Cancellieri, *Mercato e Lago*, p. 7. The place where this lion was placed is very clearly marked in an engraving reproduced by Michaelis, *Collezione capitolina di Antichità. Mittheilungen der K. Deutschen Arch. Instituts*, Rome, 1891, pl. II. *in fine.*

1 ". . . *Debeat poni eques in leone marmoris existente in scalis Capitolii cum quadam mitra in capite in qua sit scriptus, inobediens . . . et faciem habeat untam de melle et debeat manere ibi eques fuerit et duraverit mercatum.*" Bk. II., art. CXX. See the chapter treating of executions.

2
Po sulle scale della gran giusticia
Vn tozze d'un caual preso nel ventre
Dun leon chinho da lui leticia.

Atii Acc. Lincei, 1875–76, p. 51 ; G. Govi. See p. 134, note 3.

on the side towards the Aracoeli church.[1] But it did not remain long in this spot; for, at the commencement of his reign (1592), Clement VIII. had the foundations of the palace laid which abuts on the church. The group was then put opposite, in the palace of the Conservators, beside a statue of the Emperor Constantine, which was, before then, on the steps leading from the Square of the Capitol to Mount Caprino. In 1594, the sculptor Ruggiero Bescapé was commissioned, in return for a sum of three hundred crowns, to restore the head, neck, and legs of the horse, and also the parts lacking to the lion, in order that the group might regain its primitive appearance.[2]

For a long time, the lion remained in the courtyard of the palace, exposed to the weather. It was there in 1757. The Communal Council then inquired what would be the cost of its definite restoration and removal to one of the rooms of the palace; but, on learning that the work would involve an outlay of six hundred crowns, they decided to leave matters as before.[3]

Subsequently, the group was placed on an indifferent sort of socle, under the covered portico of Clement XI., in the courtyard of the palace of the Conservators.[4] Now, it has been transported into a higher courtyard, the one in which stands the reconstituted Forma Urbis.

POETICAL CORONATIONS IN THE CAPITOL.

PETRARCH.[5]

The importance attributed to the poetical coronations celebrated in the Capitol proves the fascination it excercised, afar as well as near. Indeed, the recollection of ceremonies of this kind

1 Aldrovandi, *Della statue antiche*, p. 270. "*Sulla piazza di Campidoglio . . . vi è un frammento imperfetto di marmo che è un lione sopra un cavallo . . . giudicato maraviglioso da Michelangelo.*" Cf. Michaelis, p. 7; Montagnani, II. 124; Richetti, I. 153; Helbig, I. n. 541.

2 Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI., vol. 104, p. 17; A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi*, II. 309. This Bescapé was a great restorer of the antiquities of the Capitol. He restored, among others, the statue of Marforio in 1594. He died in September, 1599; he had been "governor" of the corporation of marble-carvers in 1596. (*Archiv. dell' Università dei Marmorari*, vol. VI., fol. 6, 20.) In July, 1599, he is spoken of as an "appraiser of intaglios." (*Ibid.*) He did not finish his work.

3 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VII., vol. 89, pp. 104, 108. Sittings of the 8th of November and of the 16th of December, 1757.

4 See Helbig, I. No. 541, and Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone*, French translation, 1st part, p. 162, M. This group is admirably wrought. However, the stone has suffered much from the corrosion of the weather. Vacca is mistaken in claiming that it was discovered under the pontificate of Paul III. See Michaelis, p. 6.

5 See the chapters that treat of the eighteenth century and the coronations of Perfetti and Corilla.

which were held to have been celebrated in the ancient Capitol[1] added to the honour of being made the recipient of the symbolic laurel. In the eyes of Petrarch and his contemporaries, no poet could feel sure of immortality until he had received this consecration, just as no king of the Romans became emperor, before he had been solemnly crowned in Rome.

This was why Petrarch accepted with undisguised satisfaction the offer the Senators made that he should be crowned in the Capitol. On the same day that he received their missive, viz., the 30th of August, 1340, another letter reached him, with a similar invitation, from the University of Paris, while he was in his solitude at Vaucluse, engrossed with the composition of his poem on Africa. Petrarch did not hesitate to give the preference to Rome, albeit the offer of the Paris University appeared to him, as he said, an exceedingly flattering one; for the honour of being crowned in the Capitol was in his eyes one that transcended all others.

He set off in February, 1341, and first directed his steps to Naples, not being willing to take the laurel, until he should have been proclaimed worthy of it; and the King, Robert, whose Court was a literary centre, and who himself enjoyed great reputation as a writer, seemed to him most qualified to bear witness to his merit. The trial was a mere formality; and Petrarch obtained the diploma which was the object of his ambition. The good King Robert would have liked to crown the poet with his own hand; and he reminded him that, if Rome possessed the Capitol, Naples held the ashes of Virgil; but Petrarch made a point of being crowned in the Capitol; so he left, accompanied by two knights that the King gave him to defend him, and one of whom was assassinated on the way. The King presented him with his own royal mantle for him to wear on the day of the coronation; and he made his entry into the city on Good Friday, the 6th of April, 1341.[2]

[1] It is certain that, in antiquity, poetical games were celebrated every five years in the Capitol, and that poets were crowned there: but it is not certain that these ceremonies had any character of solemnity. An inscription found at Guasto in the Abbruzzo region informs us that, in the year 106, the poet L. Valerius Pudens, aged thirteen, was crowned in the Capitol. (Tiraboschi, II. 89. Cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, XIII.) This practice was discontinued on the fall of the Roman empire; certain Italian cities resumed it in the Middle Ages. At Padua, the historian-poet Albertino Mussato and Bonnatino were crowned; and at Prato, Convenevole, who was Petrarch's master. During his banishment, Dante thought of the day when he should receive the laurel in the church of S. Giovanni at Florence. (*Paradiso*, XXV. v. 9, and I. v. 25.) The crown was sometimes a cap, or a mitre, as the passage in Dante indicates. (De Sade, *Memoirs of the Life of Petrarch* (in French), 1764, t. II., appendix 7; Gregorovius, III. 339.)

[2] He asserts that he met Laura for the first time on Good Friday (Sonnet III. of the *Sonnets during the Life of Laura*).

Two days later, on Easter Sunday, the ceremony took place.[1] Twelve young men, clad in red, being sons either of noblemen or notable citizens, were at the head of the procession. In the course of the ceremony, they recited a number of verses composed by Petrarch in honour of the Roman people. Behind them came six Roman nobles, clad in green, a Savelli, a Conti, an Orsini, a Paparese, a Montanari, an Annibaldi; each carried a crown of flowers of different colours. They walked in front of the Senator Orso, Count of Anguillara,[2] who, surrounded by a large crowd, bore the crown of laurel. The procession then proceeded to the hall where solemn audiences were held, known as the hall of the Assectamentum. Petrarch, who had previously retired into another room, then made his entry, while the trumpets and fifes sounded, and he advanced covered with the royal mantle of King Robert. Three times he cried: "Long live the people!" "Long live the Senators!" "God preserve them in liberty!" Afterwards, he made a speech, the text of which, though lost for a long time, was ultimately recovered.[3] Its argument was based on these two lines from the Georgics (III. v. 291)—

Sed me Parnassi deserta per ardua dulcis
Raptat amor . . .

When he had ended, the poet bent his knee before the Senator, who was seated on the Chair of the *Assectamentum*, and who said, as he took the crown from his own head to place it on Petrarch's: "This crown is the reward of genius."[4] Petrarch proceeded to recite a sonnet in honour of the ancient Romans;

1 The only account of it is in Monaldesco, Murat., *R. Italic. Script.*, XII. 540. Cf. *ibid.*, III[2]. 843. Petrarch makes frequent allusions to this ceremony, but does not describe it. In Monaldesco's account, there are manifest inaccuracies, but the substance of it seems to be true.

2 It is somewhat difficult to know who was the other Senator at this date, and what *rôle* he played (at the time there were always two Senators), since the texts are contradictory. Doubtless, it must have been Stefano Colonna, an old friend of Petrarch's. Petrarch allows this to be gathered from a letter to Barbato Sulmonese, which is in his complete works, Basle edition, 1581, t. III. 4. However, the diploma conferred on him, which is in Vitale, *Storia diplom. dei Senatori di Roma*, I. 259, designates, as also the letter mentioned above, the other Senator under the name of Giordano Orsini. See also De Sade, who has contented himself with copying the various texts without display of any critical acumen.

3 *Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca* publicati ed illustrati da Attilio Hortis, Trieste, 1874, p. 311.

4 The Senator declared Petrarch to be Poet Laureate in these words: "*Magnum poetam et historicum declaramus, praeclaro magisterii nomine insignimus, et in signum specialiter poesis, nos Ursus comes et senator praefatus pro nobis et collega nostro coronam lauream nostris manibus eius capiti impressimus.*" De Sade, t. III. voucher XIX. gives the text of the patent granted the poet by the Senators. In it he is said to have received the right to wear the crown of myrtle and the "poet's costume." As a matter of fact, poets possessed a peculiar costume. Dante was buried *in habito di poeta* says Villani, Bk. IX. cap. 133.

and all those present cried : "Long live the Capitol and the poet !"[1]

The ceremony continued with a procession to St. Peter's, where the poet laid his crown on the tomb of the Apostles, and the fête concluded with a banquet.[2] Later in his life, Petrarch feigned to regret having allowed himself to be crowned : "The laurels with which my forehead was then girt," he said, "were too green ; if I had been of riper age or spirit, I should not have sought them."[3] In reality, he remained very proud of this distinction all his life, since it was largely responsible for his glory.[4]

All the Italian poets were ambitious of the same privilege. The hope of being crowned in the Capitol consoled Tasso during his last moments. If he died too soon for his desire to be realised, the Chevalier Perfetti, two centuries after, furnished an honourable pretext, as will be seen, for renewing the tradition for the benefit of those who were amused by puerile evocations of Rome's past grandeur.

Allegorical Representations Painted on the Walls of the Capitol.

In the Middle Ages, it was a widely-spread custom in Italy to draw or paint on buildings allegorical subjects for the benefit of the masses. The first picture of the kind painted on the Capitol was executed by order of the tribune Rienzo, when he raised the Roman people against the opression of the barons. He chose the outer wall on the side of the Market, in order that it might be in full view. The composition of this design is interesting. It represented an immense sea whose waves were dashing against each other in fury. A dismasted ship was about to sink ; on the deck appeared a woman in mourning, with her clothes in disorder and her hair hanging down over her shoulders ; she was beating her breast and praying to Heaven with fervour. Above the one vessel, there were four others, mastless and sailless, and half engulfed in the billows ; on each of them lay a swooning woman ; they were Carthage, Troy,

[1] In one of the apocryphal narratives of this solemnity, it is related that a woman, wishing to testify her enthusiasm, had prepared a bowl of perfume which she intended to pour over Petrarch's head ; but her emotion on seeing him was so great that she made a mistake and poured over him a corrosive liquid. Petrarch, who was bowing at the moment, lost all his hair. (De Sade, appendix 5.) Petrarch owns that he went grey early, but he does not mention that he was bald.

[2] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, III². 843, *Ex Diario Gentilis Delfini.*

[3] De Sade, II. 5.

[4] "*Parva res fortasse dixerit quispiam sed profecto novitate conspicua et populi Romani plausu et iucunditate percelebris.*" (Fam. IV. Ep. VIII. dated from Pisa on the 30th of May, 1361.)

Jerusalem, and Babylon. On one side could be read these words: "These cities, once powerful, perished through the iniquity of their inhabitants." On a bandrol placed above the women was written: "O Rome, thou wast the fear of all the universe; and now thou art going to succumb in thy turn." By the side of the ship representing Rome, and towards the left, were two islands; on one of them was a woman symbolising Italy; she was in tears, and cried: "Thou, O Rome, hadst, subjugated the whole earth; me alone thou treatedst as a sister." On the other island could be seen four women, Justice, Prudence, Courage, and Temperance; they were kneeling down and hiding their faces in their hands, and said: "Rome, thou possessedst all the virtues: at present, thou art tossed about by the winds." On the right of the picture, standing on an islet, was a woman clad in white, in an attitude of prayer, with her hands held up to Heaven; this was Christian Faith. "O my highest Father," she said, "my guide and my Lord, if Rome should perish, what would be my fate!" At the top, could be seen four rows of wingèd animals blowing through horns on the billows, as if to maintain and increase the tempest's rage. The first row was composed of lions, bears, and wolves; they symbolised the great baronial families of the Orsini and the Savelli; in the second row were dogs, swine, and he-goats, representing the barons' bad advisers; then came sheep, dragons, and foxes, images of judges, notaries, and other magistrates; last of all, in the hindmost row, appeared hares, cats, apes, she-goats; these were the band of brigands, assassins, thieves, and adulterers.[1]

Often the images so painted were ignominious and intended as a chastisement. Then, the person to be ridiculed or punished was represented head downwards. Thus it was that the tribune had his enemy, the prefect of Vico, painted. Dishonest dealers were sometimes condemned to see themselves exposed in this way. Nor did even the highest personages escape a like outrageous treatment. The most famous instance was that of Baron Cesarini, in 1534. He had attacked with his sword Magalotti, the governor of Rome, just as the latter was leaving the prisons of the Capitol after a visit, and had cut off his wrist, because in the preceding year, at Bologna, he had been ordered by Magalotti not to show himself in arms, according to the pledge given, in 1511, by the Roman barons.[2] The agreement ran that those who infringed it should be painted head downwards on the façade of the Capitol, the same as traitors and

[1] *Vita de Cola de Rienzi* da Tommaso Fortifiocca, Bracciano, 1624, p. 6. A little later, Rienzo had painted, on the wall of the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, a picture more significant still. Cf. Gregorovius, III. 351, 365, note 49.

[2] Ratti, *Famiglia Sforza*, II. 283. The peace document was signed on the 27th of August, 1511, in the Capitol, with much solemnity, and a medal was struck in commemcration, with the legend: *Pax Romana*.

assassins, in order to perpetuate the souvenir of their crime. This chastisement was visited on Cesarini, in spite of his rank. He was depicted near the cross-bar window that was on the neighbouring tower of S. Maria Aracoeli, head downwards, with his sword and cape, but without hat or doublet. Not until several months afterwards did the Pope, Clement VII., who was on the point of dying, allow the image to be effaced.[1] At times, also, the misdeeds of criminals were depicted; as, for instance, in 1518, when a priest's crime was thus stigmatised.[2]

Festivities held in the Capitol in the Fourteenth Century.

The first festivity held in the Capitol of which any record has been kept, took place in the year 1326. The Senator, Giacomo Savelli, who was vicar to King Robert, had just been expelled by Stefano Colonna and other Roman barons. They ordered the patarine bell to be rung, and assembled a great throng about them; and the people, in their joy, made knights of Stefano Colonna and Napoleone Orsini, who were forthwith bathed in rose-water and consecrated, by the twenty-eight *buonuomini*, in the Aracoeli church. Afterwards, there were rejoicings; platforms were erected on the Square, the trumpets sounded and nobles splintered lances.

All round the lists might be seem a countless number of banners and gonfalons.[3] In the following year, the Emperor Louis of Bavaria gave a banquet in the Senatorial palace, in honour of his coronation; and, as the night was far advanced when it ended, he and the Empress slept in the Capitol; nor was it until the morrow that he went and established his quarters in the Lateran.[4] In 1347, the tribune Cola di Rienzo celebrated there the advent of the "happy state."

Nothing is less certain than the reception said to have been accorded in the Capitol to Amadeus of Savoy,—"the green Count"—on his return from the war in the East, in 1367.[5]

[1] Moroni, *Diz. di Erud.*, XXXII. 41; Lanciani, *Bull. Arch. Com.*, 1901, p. 253; Cancellieri, *Mem. ist. delle sagre teste*, p. 78; Ughelli, *Ital. Sacra*, I. 782, and III. 652.

[2] *Rev. Dñs Archiepiscopus Crayensis habuit Duc. X pro degradatione per ipsum facta in personam presbiteri Desiderii Lotheringii. Johannes Simon de Verona pictor habuit julios XXIV pro picturis per eum factis in quadratis duodecim de excessibus et criminibus dicti Desiderii.* (*Archiv. di Stato*, Taxae Maleficiorum, Busta I., vol. 3, p. 75.)

[3] P. Casimiro, *Memorie di S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 638; Gregorovius, III. 267.

[4] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XIII. 638.

[5] The only historian that speaks of it is Predari, *Storia di Casa Savoja*, 1869, I. 196. The other historians, L. Cibrario, *Storia della Monarchia di Savoja*, 1844, III. 203; Guichenon, *Storia di Casa Savoja*, I. 418; the *Polistoria di Ferrara*; Muratori, XXIV. 848, which relate the entry into Rome and the stay there of Amadeus, make no mention of this fact which is nevertheless held in Rome to be certain

THE CAPITOL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

TRANSFORMATION OF THE SENATORIAL PALACE.

IN the Act of reconciliation signed between Pope Innocent VII. and the Roman people, on the 27th of October, 1404, it was stipulated, among other conditions, that the palace of the Capitol should be restored "to its ancient state," and should become a seat of justice. *Item concessit dicto populo Romano et voluit quod Capitolium prefate Urbis reducatur et reduci debeat ad formam palatii et loci communis judicii.* It is probable that the Romans had made use, against Pope Innocent VII., of the defences which Boniface IX., his predecessor, had given to the Senatorial palace. It was doubtless for this reason that the Pope demanded they should be demolished.[1]

However, it is not known what work was carried out in consequence; the reign of Innocent VII. was short (1404-1408), and the Papacy, both then and after, had more pressing preoccupations than the transformation of the Capitoline palace.

In 1413, the window overlooking the Tarpeian Rock, being that from which the Senator was bound to witness executions, was surrounded with a marble case on which were engraven the armorial bearings of Wenceslaus, King of Naples, who was then all-powerful in Rome, and who was represented by the Senator Nicolas di Thiano.[2]

But few data are to hand regarding the work executed in the

[1] Theiner, *Codex diplom. S. Sedis*, III. 131. The King, Ladislaus, had come to the help of the Pope and had enabled him, as not long before Boniface IX., to quell the revolt of his subjects. Infessura, ed. O. Tommasini, p. 10.

[2] *De mandato Dñi Nicolai de Thiano tunc tempore Senatoris Urbis per Dominum regem Venceslaum fecit fieri tabernaculum de marmore cum arma sua sculpta in dicto tabernaculo in fenestram palatii Capitolii ubi dictus Dñs Senator stat ad videndum quando fiunt justitiae ut moris est.* Muratori, *R. Italic Script.*, XXIV., 1040, *Diarium Romanum.* The reference is to Niccolo de' Diano, or Thiano, or Trano. Vitale, p. 381; Olivieri, I. 255.

pontificate of Martin V. (1417–1431), who is reckoned among the sovereign pontiffs that contributed most to the embellishment of the Capitol.[1] His armorial bearings have been found engraven on the tower nearest to the Aracoeli church, and on the façade ; it is, therefore, probable that he restored the tower and decorated the façade. A document dated in 1427 records some buttress work carried out, as it would seem, in that year, and most likely done in connection with the repairing of the tower that bears his name.[2]

Under the pontificate of Eugenius IV., which was troubled for ten years by a rebellion of the Romans, the palace was no more than kept in its usual state. A certain sum, how much is not indicated, was reimbursed, on the 13th of March 1430, to the Senator Francesco Ferretti of Ancona for the "*reparatione palatii Capitolii.*"[3]

Consequently, the palace was in very bad condition. Flavio Biondo, the author of *Roma Instaurata*, a work composed in 1447,[4] writes : "*Pudet pigetque a Capitolio incipientum eius deformitatem referre . . . Nûc vero praeter latericiâ domû a Bonifacio IX ruinis superaedificatam, qualem mediocris olim fastidisset romanus cives, usibus senatoris et causidicorû deputatâ, praeter Arae Coeli fratrû beati Francisci ecclesiâ in Feretrii Jovis templi fundamentis extructâ, nihil habet is Capitolinus Tarpeiusve mons tantis olim aedificiis exornatus.*"[5] Bernardo Ruccellai, who visited Rome in 1450, says in speaking of the palace of the

[1] Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Urbis*, 1515, f. 86 : "*Duc. diciocto et bol. octo pacammo a Antonio delle Sancto fallename, maestro dello palazzo per spese per esso facte per reparationi de comandamento del presente senatore come appare la polissa de di XXIII di decembre.*" *Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Intr. et Ex. Cam., 1423–1424, fol. 177, December, 1423. Other small payments made in 1426 and 1427. *Ibid.*, quoted by Müntz, *Les Antiquités*, p. 152.

[2] Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), I. 16 : "*Solvi faciatis Nobili viro Nuccio de Giaffo, civi roman., pro expensis per ipsum factis in muris et furcis* (M. Müntz thinks this word means buttresses), *apud Capitolium noviter erectis et factis, fl.* 16 *de bon.* 50 *pro quolibet floreno et bon. romanos* 15 *et denarios* 3" (18 July, 1427). *Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Camer., 1426–1430, fol. 45. Montagnani Mirabili, p. 33. According to him, it was Martin V. who introduced order into the confused structures that stood behind the Senatorial palace, but the sketch supplied by Heemskerck proves that this work is posterior.

[3] *Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Camer., 1426–1430, fol. 130. Ferretti ceased to be a Senator on the 9th of March, 1430. Olivieri, p. 261.

[4] Pastor, *History of the Popes* (in French), I. 310 ; Gregorovius, IV. 203. Burckhardt, *Civilisation* (in French), I. 222, gives a somewhat earlier date.

[5] *Blondi Flavii Forlivensis de Roma Triumph. Libri decem*, Basle, 1531 ; *Roma Instaurata* (which is a sequel), Bk. I., § 73. Allowance must be made for the fact that the author was a humanist, and spoke in comparison with what the Capitol had been in the time of its splendour ; in the § 66, apropos of the Capitoline hill, Blondi quotes Virgil and characterises it as "*silvestribus horrida dumis.*" However, N. Muffels, who came to Rome in 1452 to be present at the coronation of Frederick III., speaks in almost the same terms of the Capitol ; he says that dead animals were thrown there (N. Muffels, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Tübingen, 1876, p. 52).

Capitol: "*Dove al presente abita il senatore grande parte cascato.*"[1]

The result was that the Capitoline magistrates, instead of sitting in the Capitol, as was prescribed them by the statutes of the City, held their audiences and convoked the people either in the cloister or under the portico of the Aracoeli church. This custom, indeed, was fairly ancient, but it had never been so frequently resorted to as in the fifteenth century. In 1267, when Guido de Montefeltro, vicar of the Senator, Henry of Castile, decided the Romans to ally themselves with the communes of Pisa and Sienna and to the other Ghibelline cities of Tuscany, he convoked the people's assembly in the Aracoeli church.[2] The statutes of 1363 prescribe that certain formalities should be observed in this place; it is true that the case referred to is a peculiar one, being an attestation rather than a judiciary inquiry.[3] Moreover, the church was then considered to form part of the palace; and a heavier penalty was inflicted on those guilty of any excess in it, just as if the misdeed had been committed in the precincts of the palace.[4]

The confirmations of the statutes granted between 1402 and 1421 all bear the mention: "*Actum in ecclesia S. Marie de Araceli*" or "*Actum in secundo renclaustro Ecclesiae S. Marie de Araceli*" or "*Actum in renclaustro Ecclesiae S. Marie de Araceli*" or "*Actum in loco nostre solite residentie de Araceli*" or "*Actum apud Aramceli*" or "*Actum in ambitu secundi reclaustri Araceli.*"[5] Another series of Acts, the Gabelle sales, give still more precise indications as to the place where the popular magistrates used to hold their sittings. The Sale Act of the Gabelle of the *soldanus* is dated: "*Actum Rome ante portam Araceli caput schalis dicte ecclesie*"; the sale of the musk Gabelle is dated: "*Actum Rome in domibus residentie dictorum . . . Conservatorum site in Araceli*"; the Gabelle of the cloth sales is dated: "*Actum Rome in domibus residentie dominorum Conservatorum site infra claustrum conventus S. Marie de Aracoeli.*"[6]

[1] *Archiv. della R. Soc. Romana di Storia Patria*, IV., fasc. IV., p. 577.

[2] "*. . . more romano generale et speciale consilium Comunis Romae factum fuit in Ecclesia S. Marie de Capitolio per vocem preconum et sonum campane de hominibus ipsorum Consiliariorum more solito congregatorum, convocatis etiam ad dictum consilium Consulibus Mercatorum et Capitibus artium Urbis Romae . . .*" Delgiudice, *Cod. diplom. di Carlo I e II*, t. II. 95.

[3] "*Mulier accusata vel inquisita . . . aut vadat personaliter ad Eccl. S. Mariae de Araceli ad respondendum . . .*" Bk. II., art. 72.

[4] Bk. II., art. 111. Article 151, which forbids stones and darts to be cast against the painted windows of churches, makes particular mention of the Aracoeli church.

[5] Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58, 60, 61, 65, 66, 71, 72, 74, 198, 211, 221; Gatti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 121, 122.

[6] *Archiv. di Stato*, Reg. Cam. Capit., 1421–1425, fol. 4, 13, 34.

From 1421, these mentions are met with less often. However, on the 4th of September, 1428, a testimonial letter handed by the Conservators to the notary De Cambris bears on it: "*Datum Rome apud Aramceli locum nostre residentie.*"[1]

In order finally to put a stop to this abusive practice, Pope Martin V., in the twelfth year of his pontificate, promulgated a Bull forbidding, thenceforth, Senators, Conservators, and other magistrates to hold sittings either in the cloister or in the church of S. Maria Aracoeli.[2] On the other hand, the prior of the *caporioni* was required to render justice in the palace of the Capitol, by one of the articles of the treaty concluded between the people and Pope Eugenius IV.,[3] just as, by the statutes of the City, the Senator was bound to reside in it.[4] However, there were further infractions of the interdiction throughout the whole of the century.[5]

Pope Nicholas V., who did much for Rome, took measures besides to make the palace of the Capitol more suitable. Improvements were begun in the year 1451, the jubilee having apparently supplied the Apostolic Chamber and the City Chamber with the necessary funds. "*In nello anno* 1451 *papa Nicola se deo allo edifitio et ad acconciare Roma . . . et fece acconciare Campituoglio,*" says Infessura.[6] The work done by the Pope was very considerable. He strengthened and raised higher, if he did not entirely build, the tower on the side of the Arch of Septimus Severus, the tower afterwards taking his name. His armorial bearings appear near the top, as also those of Pope Innocent VIII. and Cardinal Cibo, his nephew, a little lower down. He restored the two towers bearing the name of Boniface IX., which flanked the east side of the palace; and, last of all, he raised the height of that part of

[1] Cod. Vat. 5994, fol. 72.

[2] P. Casimiro, *Memorie*, p. 705.

[3] E. Rodocanachi, *Communal Institutions of Rome* (in French), p. 153.

[4] Statutes of 1363, Bk. III., art. I. Subsequently the Conservators were compelled to reside likewise. Statutes of 1580, Bk. III., art. IV.

[5] Casimiro quotes, p. 707, an Act of 1468 which begins: "*Constitutae dictae partes . . . presenti a domini senatoris sedentis in quodam lapide marmoreo situm iuxta portam ecclesiae aracoeli versus Capitolium*"; another Act of 1476 is worded: "*Actum in regione campitelli et in reclaustro fratrum minorum ecclesiae sanctae Mariae de aracoeli ex opposito capellae capitularis dictae ecclesiae*"; last of all, an Act of 1504: "*Constitutus personaliter coram . . . magnifici viri . . . Urbis senatoris illustris sedente pro tribunali in quodam sedili marmoreo sito in ecclesia S. Mariae de Aracoeli iuxta ostium respiciens palatium Capitolii.*" An Act, dated the 14th of April, 1496, is thus expressed: "*Coram nobili et sapienti viro d. Johannis Francisci de Mauchis de Tuderto juris utriusque doctori iudice palatino et collaterali Curie Capitolii sedente pro tribunali in quodam pilo marmoreo sito apud portam ecclesiae Sancte Marie de Aracoeli respicientem palatium Capitolii.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Prot. 122, car. 227. In 1455, a decision recognising a girl's virtue, "*pro honestate dicte puelle,*" had been given, "*in quodam podio lapideo sito ante Ecclesiam Sancte Marie Aracoeli*" (19 December). *Archiv. di Stato*, Prot. 706, *Atti Laurentius di Festis*, p. 1. Last of all, the statutes of 1519–1523 reproduce the article of the statutes of 1363, which have been quoted (Bk. II., art. 72).

[6] Ed. Tommasini, p. 49.

the palace which is situated on the side towards the Forum. The building work was carried out by Pietro de Varese,[1 2] under the superintendence of Nello di Bartolommeo, delegated by the Pope. Artists of renown, such as the painter Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno, the sculptor Paolo di Mariano of Sezze, otherwise called Paolo Romano, worked at the decoration of the palace. Bartolommeo painted the frieze of the large hall in which the Senator held his audiences. Paolo di Mariano carved marble casings for the windows of the first story in front, to the left of the loggia. A marble staircase was built *nella volta nova*, perhaps on the side towards the S. Maria Aracoeli church.[3] A Venetian worker in marble, Francesco, made a marble door, under the image of the Madonna that is in the palace vestibule. Another worker in marble, Baldassare, carved four marble escutcheons with the Pope's coat of arms, and, besides, built two marble chimney-pieces.[4] Appropriating the language of Augustus, Nicholas V. might have said that he had found the Capitol of brick and had left it of marble. But the expense was great. During the years 1451 and 1452 there was one payment after another, making a total appreciably more than four thousand ducats, besides the tower, which alone cost more than a thousand.

The work went on in the following pontificates. Pius II. ordered a hundred and forty florins to be paid to the carpenter Cencio Jacobi Vannucii, a Roman citizen, on January the 16th, 1459, and forty-nine florins to Galasso of Bologna, on the 17th of July, for work done in the Guard-room.[5] At the same time, the Pope furnished them with two thousand cross-bow shafts. In the same year, Antonio of Pontianis delivered an order for the payment of four florins and twelve bolognini for work of a similar kind.[6] Under Paul II., the expenses for keeping things in order

1 "*A mº Pietro de Varese nipote di mº Beltramo adi detto* (31 December, 1452), *due c.* 1000 *di oro de camera . . . per parte de la tore fa dietro a Champituoglio a lato dove si vende il sale a minuto. . . . Per resto e saldo d'achordo de la tore a fatta a Champituoglio a lato ala porta dove si vende il sale in sul chanto da lato dietro. . . .*" (9 March, 1453). Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), I. 150. Cf. Montagnani, *Il Museo Capitolino*, I. 34. The words: "*Dove si vende il sale*" are explained in the chapter *Tabularium*.

2 Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi*, I. 45.

3 "*A Jacovo de Petrasanta marmoraro per doi porticelle fece nella sala grande di Campituoglio, et per li gradi della scala di marmo che sono nella volta nova, et certi altri lavori, con accordo, Duc.* 34." *Arch. di Stato*, Reg. Cam. Capit., fol. 83, 1st January, 1452.

4 Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), I. 150.

5 Müntz, *ibid.*, 294–295.

6 *Archiv. di Stato*, M. Camer., 1460–1462, fol. 20. In 1461, under the pontificate of Pius II., were destroyed some remains of ancient monuments that were still on the Capitol: "*A mº petro marmoraro con suo garzone sono per opere XX lavorare a cauar travertini a câpitolio. . . .* (30 May).—*A Ambrosio da Milano a cauar petre a câpitolio . . .* (24 June).—*A Maganello et suoi compagni a cavar petre a câpitolio. . . .* (December).—*Silvestro per carrecte XXXVj de petra tirata co*

amounted to 448 florins, 68 bol., paid to Egidio of Toccho and his companions, *et sociis*, by order of the Pope. The order for payment mentions that the payments were for buttress-arches, pavements, doors, windows, floors, a wooden entrance-staircase, repairs to the roof.[1] It must, therefore, have been an important restoration ; but, apparently, the general aspect of the palace was not much altered. In 1470, there was an expenditure of 32 florins, 71 bol. for doing up, as it would seem, the Guard-room.[2]

Sixtus IV. had the door made in the *Tabularium*, as will be again mentioned further on. To this Pope was due the commencement of the Capitoline museums, which will be spoken of in the chapter devoted to them. During the years from 1489 to 1492, the work was continued, and a good deal was done,[3] especially to the *Tabularium*. Some minor improvements were made in 1499.[4]

Palace of the Conservators.

The transformation of the Capitol was parallel with the modifications in the organisation of the Municipality.

While the Senatorial magistracy, created in times gone by in order to hold in check the sovereign pontiffs, became more and more dependent on the Holy See, and assumed an exclusively judiciary character, the authority of the bannerets, *banderesi*, then of the Conservators, who were the direct representatives of the people, rapidly increased.[5]

They had, therefore, their palace, which was already building, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, beside the Senatorial palace. Although it does not figure on the ancient plans of the Capitol, it none the less existed in the year 1408 and was, at that date, the usual abode of the bannerets as appears from the document below.[6]

suoi bufali . . . da câpitolio." Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, Rome, 1902, I. 67. Other excavations of the same kind took place in 1520, as will be related.

[1] *Archiv. di Stato*, M. Camer., 1468–1469, fol. 200.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1470–1471, fol. 21. "*Fl.* 32, *b.* 71. *Magrō Dominico de Florentia fabro lignaminis per eum expensis in faciendas certas domus in palatio Capitolii pro usu stipendiatorum.*"

[3] Müntz, *Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French), p. 153.

[4] From the 16th of Jan., *B.* 35 *cont. a certi fachini che portaro, certi preti di porfido ad palazo, come apare per mandato delli conservatori.* D.O., b. 35. *Id.*, *baj.* 20. From the 21st of Jan., *id.*, *baj.* 10. 26th Jan., *id.*, *baj.* 20. Reg. Cam. Capit., 1497–1502, fol. 90 V.

[5] This progressive substitution has been explained and studied in detail in Chapters VII. and VIII. of our work on the Communal Institutions of Rome.

[6] "*Banderenses intraverunt in palatio Apostolico et juraverunt in manibus card. S. Angeli esse fideles S. Matris Ecclesie, et receperunt banderas consuetas tempore*

In another document, dated in the year 1410, mention is also made of the bannerets' residence; but it is called a house. It must, in fact, have been a very modest dwelling, which explains why it does not figure in the plan of Sienna. A drawing of Heemskerck's shows it as it was a century later.

In 1429,[1] some joinery or carpentry was done in it; and some repairs to it were made in 1433.[2] But it was Pope Nicholas V. who, while repairing the Senator's palace, gave also to the abode of the Conservators the appearance of a palace: "*Edifico lo palazzo delli Conservatori*,"[3] says Infessura. In reality, the restoration he carried out was a veritable reconstruction. Then it was that were built the semicircular arcades, some vestiges of which are still visible in the interior of the palace courtyard[4] and which figure on the plans of Heemskerck and Kock.




FIG. 15.—THE ROMAN SHE-WOLF, FIGURED ON AN ANCIENT MEDAL.

In 1473, a cistern was added to the palace of the Conservators, which cost twenty-five florins.[5] On the 21st of July, another payment of thirty florins was made for work "*in perfectione fabricae reparationis cisternae palatii eorum residentiae.*"

Sixtus IV. having given to the Conservators the colossal head of an emperor which was at the Lateran, they, being much embarrassed to find a suitable position for it, had it placed between two of the pillars that formed the peristyle of their

antiquo. . . . Quatuor eorum Consiliarii cum baculis in manu iverunt versus Capitolium, et ibi in Capitolio fuerunt recepti dicti Banderensii ab omnibus Capitibus Regionum cum banderiis, ut moris est, cum magno gaudio. Item post receptionem iverunt ad eorum palatium, ubi primo eorum residentia utebatur et ibi fecerunt residentiam." Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 989, *Diarium Romanum.*

[1] Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), I. 16. "*Provido viro Meo dello* (or *detto*) *Archiprete carpentario de regione Trivii* 60 *florenos auri de camera pro certis laboreriis per eum factis in domo magnificorum dominorum conservatorum dicte Urbis*" (31 December, 1429). Cf. Montagnani, *Il Museo Capitolino*, I. 33. In another document quoted by Müntz, *ibid.*, this Meus bears the title of *Magister Palatii Capitolii.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50: "*. . . Ad mandatum dominorum Conservatorum alme Urbis solvatis . . . pro aedificatione seu reparatione domorum residentie ipsorum Conservatorum flor. au. de cam. C.*"

[3] Ed. Tommasini, p. 49, line 26.

[4] See p. 191, Fig. 50.

[5] '*Magnificis almae Urbis conservatoribus, fl. auri de camera XXV exponen. per ipsos dominos conservatores in fabricam citernae palatii eorum residentiae.*" Müntz, II. 169. This cistern was the object of numerous repairs; and disappeared in the sixteenth century, at the time of the transformation of the inner courtyard, and the bringing of the water to the fountain of the large palace. An inscription had been placed there. Forcella, I. n. 38.



FIG. 16.—THE BRONZE SHE-WOLF OF THE CAPITOL. FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE CABINET OF PRINTS.

palace. It was still there in 1565, as the plan of Lafreri proves, which was drawn out at this time. This colossal head, indeed, is shown on the earlier plans of Heemskerck and Kock.[1] At that epoch it was thought to be the head of Nero or Commodus. Since then, it has been attributed to Domitian. Helbig is of opinion that it represents the younger Nero.[2] It came from the temple of Peace built by Vespasian and burnt in the reign of Commodus.[3] It now adorns the courtyard of the palace, together with the Emperor's hand, which was given at the same date. Pope Sixtus IV. also offered to the Conservators the bronze She-Wolf, which subsequently became the most venerated object in the Capitoline collections, as much by reason of the souvenirs it called forth as by its intrinsic merit. It was, first of all, placed above the entrance door. The Pope went to the expense of having it set up.[4]

[1] Every representation of the palace of the Conservators shows it in this place. An inscription mentioned by De Rossi, *Insc. Christ.*, I. 396, and published in C.I.L., no. 1275, confirms this indication. It reads: "*In angulo parietis aedium conservatorum in exteriori porticu contra occiput capitis colossi aenei.*" Cf. De Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III². 397; Burckhardt, *The Cicerone* (in French), Antique Art, p. 60; Manuzio, quoted by Michaelis, *La Collezione Capitolina*, p. 14.

[2] Helbig, I. 538. The reference is perhaps to a fragment of the gigantic statue of Domitian, celebrated by Statius, *Silvae*, I.

Equus Max. Domitia.
Vae super imposito moles gemmata colosso
Stat latium complexa forum: coelone peractum
Fluxit opus: siculis an confirmata caminis
Effigies, lassum Steropem Brontemque reliquit?

[3] Cf. J. Burckhardt, *The Cicerone* (in French), I. 152; Montagnani, II. 128. The two feet and the arm which are in the courtyard of the Museum with the bust, have the same origin.

[4] "*Solvi faciatis . . . Conservatoribus Fl. C. exponendos in fabrica loci in quo statuenda est apud eorum palatium luppa enea quae hactenus erat apud s. Joh. Lateranensem, et in certis aliis ornamentis predicti eorum palatii juxta ordinationem SSmi D. N. pape.*" Order to pay dated the 13th of November, 1471. *Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Camer., an. 1471–1473, fol. 51. This She-Wolf is an old piece of work and seems to date back to the fifth century before our era. Perhaps, in order to make the She-Wolf the Mother of the Romans, the two twins figuring in this group were added about this period. Such is the opinion of Burckhardt, *The Cicerone*, I. 163, and of Janitschek, *Repertor. für Kunstwissenschaft*, V. 263, no. 12. F. Bonfigli, *Roma veduta in otto giorni*, Rome, 1854, p. 41, attributes the twins to Giacomo della Porta. However, antique medals most often represent the She-Wolf with the Twins, and turning her head to look at them. Moreover, the text of Cicero, quoted further on, shows that the She-Wolf of the Capitol suckled the Twins. Of the two medals reproduced here, one is very ancient, since it was struck in the time when the Romans established themselves in Campania; the second is comparatively modern, and dates back only to the end of the Empire. On both, Romulus and Remus are represented. The She-Wolf's neck is bent, in harmony with the form of the medal, and to avoid the straight line of the bronze which, in fact, is rather hard. Sometimes the She-Wolf is alone, in a threatening attitude, for instance on the denarii of Publius Latrienus (Helbig, 618; cf. Babelon, *Coins of the Republic of Rome* (in French), Paris, 1885). Some think that the She-Wolf of the Capitol is the same that was in existence in antiquity and was struck by lightning, in the year 65 B.C., at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, from which circumstance Cicero derived great advantage. "*Complures in Capitolio res de coelo esse percussas. . . . Tactus est etiam ille qui hanc Urbem condidit, Romulus quem inauratum in*

Pictorial Representations of the Capitol in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

The representation of the Capitol contained in the Cod. Vat. 1960, which has already been spoken of, is the only one which the thirteenth century has bequeathed us. For the following periods, several exist. The first is that figuring on the seal of Louis of Bavaria,[1] and bearing the date of the year 1328. The Senatorial palace is flanked with two towers, and the





FIG. 17.—THE ROMAN SHE-WOLF, FIGURED ON AN ANCIENT MEDAL.

staircase is shown on which the magistrates stood when they assembled the people, and which served as a place of execution.

Capitolio parvum atque lactantem uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis." Cicero, in his *Catiline Orations*, III., cap. VIII.—Cf. Dion Cassius, Bk. XXXVII., cap. 25; Sallust, *Catilina*, XXX. Cf. Nibby, I. 81, and Montagnani, p. 136, who asserts that the She-Wolf was struck by lightning on the death of Caesar, according to Titus Livy! The right hind leg of the She-Wolf bears, indeed, evident traces of fire, but since it has been repaired many times and some parts welded at a very high temperature, as the nature of the work shows, it may be that these traces are merely the result of one of such operations, so that it is most difficult to decide if Nibby and De Brosses were right to be enthusiastic about the singular accident which brought back the ancient symbol of the Roman fatherland to its first resting-place. About the tenth century the She-Wolf was in the Lateran, in front of the seat of the "*iudices palatini.*" A design reproduced by Tommasini in his edition of Infessura, pl. III., which design belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century, represents a scene of torture that took place before the She-Wolf in 1438. "*Messer Nicola fo appeso nell' ormo della piazza di Santo Joanni, ad Capocciola et Garofalo li foro mozze le mano ritte, et poi foro arsi nella ditta piazza, e le ditte mani furo chiavellate accanto alla lopa de metallo, in quello muro, come delle preditte cose si vede la memoria pente come s'entra la ecclesia de Santo Janni ad mano ritta su ad alto.*" Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 38. Cf. Paolo dello Mastro, *Diar.*: "*Et le li degano esser tagliate la mano ritta e chiavellarle in quello muro dove sta in mezo la lopa.*" Cf. Paolo Petroni, who, on this occasion, speaks of the "*torre appresso all' olmo di sopra ad una lopa di metallo che sta nella detta torre.*" See p. 199 and following; Rohault de Fleury, *The Lateran in the Middle Ages* (in French), pp. 493, 496, 498; E. Müntz, *Revue archéologique*, 1876, p. 261; Stevenson, *Scoperte di antichi edifizi ad Laterano*, Rome, 1877, p. 48.

[1] See p. 76, note 4.

The design being very summary, the lion utilised as an instrument of punishment does not appear.

In the *Dittamondo* of Fazio degli Uberti, which is in the possession of the French National Library, under the catalogue heading "*fonds italien* 81," and which was written in 1447 by Andrea Morena de Lodi, the Capitol is not indicated.[1] On the contrary, in the view of Rome painted by Taddeo di Bartolo on one of the walls of the chapel of the communal palace of Sienna, the Capitol is clearly visible with its two towers and staircase. But the painter, wishing to show the arcade that was below, has represented by an awkward perspective this staircase as being joined to the façade. The gibbet, no doubt a very high one, which had been erected on Mount Caprino, seems to tower above the palace.[2] The view of Rome contained in the Hour Book of the Duc de Berry and at present in the Condé Museum, is, so to speak, a replica of this plan, at least as far as the palace of the Capitol is concerned.[3]

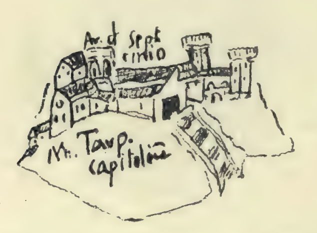


FIG. 18.—FRAGMENT OF THE REDI PLAN OF ROME, CONTAINED IN THE COD. LAUR. RED. 77.

The painter Taddeo, who was born in 1363, died in 1422; but the representation of Rome which he painted at Sienna gives its appearance at a much earlier date; for he must have worked, as Stevenson thinks, from materials dating back at least to the preceding century.

In Ptolemy's "*Cosmographia*," which exists in the French National Library, under the catalogue heading "*fonds latin* 4802," and in the Roman Vatican, Cod. Urbinate 277, both of them apparently written in 1472, there is a panoramic view of Rome.[4] The Capitol is represented with the church of S. Maria Aracoeli beside it. It is flanked with two towers, and the gibbet stands behind; in front of the church appears the staircase built in 1348. What would suggest that this design of the Capitol is earlier than the period in which the manuscript was composed, and that it is perhaps the copy of an

1 Gio. Batta. de Rossi, *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, 1879.

2 This plan has been more particularly studied by Stevenson, in the *Bullettino della Comm. Archeologica Com. di Roma*, 1881, p. 74. Didron drew attention to it, in 1865, in the *Annales archéologiques*, p. 1, *Monograph on the Chapel of the Palace of the Republic of Sienna* (in French).

3 Müntz has treated of this representation of Rome in the *Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French), 1886, p. 6 and following.

4 De Rossi, *ibid.*

older document, is that the abode of the Conservators which already existed, as has been said, does not appear in it. The panoramic view painted by Benozzo Gozzoli, on a fresco in the church of St. Augustine at San Gemignano, dates back certainly to



FIG. 19.—FRAGMENT OF THE PLAN OF ROME CONTAINED IN THE MS. OF THE FRENCH NAT. LIB., FONDS LATIN 4802.

1465.[1] The Capitol is shown in it such as it had become in consequence of the improvements carried out by the Popes of the fifteenth century. A bell-tower of exaggerated height rises above it ; and, on either side, are the towers built by Nicholas V.

[1] This fresco represents St. Augustine leaving Rome. Müntz has dealt with the design of Rome in the *Bulletin of the Society of French Antiquarians*, 1880, and in the *Antiquities of the City of Rome* (both in French).

The Redi plan, which is in the "Laurentiana" Library at Florence, and which was made by Alessandro Strozzi, is not quite so old. It was designed in 1474, and shows the Capitol with its two battlemented towers, its arched porch, its windows few in number, a veritable fortress, capable of being used by the people against pontifical authority. Last of all, the large view of Rome, painted on canvas, which is at present in the Mantua museum, gives only a symbolic representation of the Capitoline palaces. The palace of the Conservators is shown, and that of the Senator also; but the latter is divided into two parts, with a big tower and very low subsidiary buildings, an aspect which it certainly never presented. This plan, which is closely related to the one contained in the chronicle printed at Nuremberg in 1493, the text of which was written by Schedel and the engravings of which were drawn by Michael Wolgemut and Pleydenwulff, dates back probably to the year 1490, as Rossi and Müntz have proved.

Then come the representations of Marten van Heemskerck and Hieronymus Cock or Kock, made in the sixteenth century, which will be spoken of again.

The Tabularium.

From the end of the first half of the Middle Ages, the *Tabularium* was used as a salt repository. The basement part of the structure had perhaps been so employed even in antiquity.[1]

It is possible that this was the place where the tribune Cola di Rienzo had the salt stored, when he made its sale a monopoly of the commune of Rome.[2] What is certain is that, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *Tabularium* was the regular salt repository. This appears from the text of the treaty concluded, on the 27th of October, 1494, between the sovereign pontiff and the Romans, by which the latter acquired all the salt stored there, with the exception of a thousand *rubbia*, these belonging to the Holy See.[3] Moreover, Poggio, writing in the time of Martin V., affirms of the *Tabularium* that it was "*Publici nunc salis receptaculum.*"[4] The level of the ground

[1] Gregorovius, III. 400, note 9. In 1360 Innocent VI. handed over the *Tabularium* to the Canons of the Church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, near the Capitol, which has since been destroyed. "*Quoddam casalenum quod dicitur Cameliana* (*Cancellaria*: see as to this appellation what is said further on) *ipsius ecclesie positum retro dictam ecclesiam cui ab uno latere est palatium Capitolii . . . ab alio est via publica que dicitur Faba Tosta.*" Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, p. 39. Cf. Jordan, *Topogr.*, II. 458. Cf. p. 22.

[2] *Vita de Cola de Rienzi*, cap. VI.

[3] Theiner, *Codex diplom. S. Sedis*, III. 134.

[4] *De Varietate Fortunae*, p. 8.

rose on the side of the Forum to the height of the first story windows, as is seen in Sadler's reproduction. One of its apertures was enlarged to make the door which still exists, but is to-day much above the ground level, in consequence of successive clearings since then.

Pope Nicholas V. gave orders for certain repairs and appropriations to be carried out, and they were entrusted to the master-mason, Giacomo da Pietra Santa. He it was who carved the Pope's coat of arms let into the side wall of the building, that facing towards the church of S. Maria Aracoeli. Pietro di Giovanni da Varese, also, was employed in the work. As previously stated, he built the buttress tower placed against the *Tabularium* near the Arch of Septimus Severus, which at present bears the name of the tower of Nicholas V.[1] It was these alterations which caused some writers, and among them Guattani,[2] to say that this Pope had disfigured the Capitol, in order to establish in it a salt repository.

This portion of the Capitoline palace was the object of continual restorations, no doubt necessitated by the corrosive action of the salt, traces of which are still visible to-day on the walls of the lower rooms,[3] and also by the great importance that the repository naturally acquired, in proportion as the City developed. Now, this development was peculiarly rapid in the course of the fifteenth century. In 1466, Paul II. put certain small alterations into the hands of Ascenzo and Giovanni da Mantova, who were masons ; and, in 1468, someone named Firmo da Caravagio was similarly commissioned.[4] Sixtus IV. also had repairs effected in the *Tabularium* by Lorenzo da Pietra Santa, whose name occurs so often in orders to pay of this period. The repairs were continued by Innocent VIII.[5]

[1] *A Jacovo di Cristoforo da Pietrasanta per una porta di marmo per esso lavorata e per le arme che son poste nella salara, Duc. XIV, bol.* 16 (1st January, 1452). (Reg. Cam. Capitolina, fol. 82.) *A Maestro Pietro di Giovanni da Varese nipote di Maestro Beltramo, Duc. C per parte dei lavori che a fatti alla Salara di Campidoglio* (March, 1453). (*Archivio di Stato*, Spese di Palazzo, fol. 93.)

[2] *Roma descritta ed illustrata*, Rome, 1805, I. 100.

[3] In the seventeenth century, as will be seen, all this part of the Tabularium had to be underpinned.

[4] *Fl. XXX magistro Johanni de Mantua et sotiis pro parte solutionis eorum mercedis ratione fabrice quam faciunt in voltis seu architectis in Dohana salis ad grossum in palatio Capitolii* (6 Sept., 1466). *Flor. L magro. Firmo de Caravagio muratori pro parte solutionis certe fabrice quam ipse ex ordinatione Camere fecit in faciendo certa architecta in Salaria Capitolii* (5 Dec., 1468). (Mand. Camerali, 1464–1473, fol. 31 ; 1466–1468, fol. 60.)

[5] *Flor. centum de Camera Laurentio de Petra Sancta exponendos per ipsum in fabrica Salariae Apostolicae in Capitolio* (April, 1477). *Flor. L de Camera Magistro Laurentio de Petra Sancta pro fabrica salariae Capitolii de quibus debebit reddere computum* (June, 1477). *Flor. XIV Magro. Basso de Florentia lapicida pro factura quinque lapidum cum armis Ssmi. D. N. et Commissarii ponendorum super Salariam Capitolii. Item solvatis Duc. II pro ponendis in loco debito et ordinato hujusmodi lapidibus Alfonzo de Anania notario dicti Salis qui habebat*

It was under the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV., in 1477, that the doorway built of blocks of travertine was completed, which gave access to the salt repository and which to-day opens above the level of the ground, in the narrow street skirting the Capitol on its eastern side (Via dell' Arco di Settimo Severo).[1] This doorway, with its semicircular arch, surmounted by a straight architrave, has received the name of Pope Sixtus IV., whose armorial bearings, the oak of the Della Rovere, are visible above in the middle; those of the Roman people are on the left; those of Cardinal d'Estouteville, the Camerlingo, are on the right. Below, in the frieze of the door, are three escutcheons of smaller size; those at the ends, representing a swine, belong to the celebrated family of Porcari, a member of which, Bernardo Porcio di Trejo, was caporione about the time when the doorway was built.[2] As regards the middle escutcheon, its attribution is difficult. It would seem that the arms figuring on it are those of Lorenzo Roverella, Bishop of Ferrara, for similar bearings existed on his tomb.[3]

Higher up, above the armorial bearings of Sixtus IV., are represented, superposed, the arms of Cardinal Cibo and those of Pope Innocent VIII.

The care taken by the chief personages in those days thus to commemorate their name near this doorway shows that it must have been a great thoroughfare and that great importance was attached to its construction.

In 1477, some work was done needful for keeping the *Salara* in a good state of repair, which cost one hundred and fifty florins.[4] Innocent VIII. had his coat of arms put up there, as

curam faciendi poni dictos lapides in dictis locis ordinatis et de illis satisfaciat muratori qui dictos lapides ponat (19 Aug., 1489). (*Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Int. et exitus, vol. 1476–1477, fol. 175 and 238; vol. 1489–1492, fol. 67.)

[1] Its raised level is explained in the following way. Owing to the market being held for several centuries on the Square of the Capitol, the *Intermontium* had risen considerably, as also the slopes turned towards the Capitol. At the time of the reconstruction work advised by Michael Angelo, the ground was cleared, the heap of rubbish was thrown into the Forum, and the ancient level reappeared, much lower than the artificial surface. See Huelsen, pp. 9, 13, and Otto Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, p. 98.

[2] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 83.

[3] The reproduction of these armorial bearings is found in Litta, *Famiglie celebri*. Appendix to the genealogy of this family. Those engraven on the tomb have been destroyed. This bishop may have been Governor of the Capitol. On the death of Sixtus IV. (1484), Fustus Baldinus, Bishop of Ceuta, was designated to fill the post (Burchard, I. 10). Lorenzo Roverella had been appointed Governor of Perugia by Sixtus IV. in 1474 (Moroni, XXIV. 179). The Pope entrusted him, maybe, with the guarding of the Capitol in 1478, on the death of the Senator Cesi. It will be remarked, indeed, that while the arms of the prior of the Caporioni figure on the lintel of the door, those of the Senator are lacking.

[4] *De mandato . . . fl. centum de Camera Laurentio de Petrasancta exponendos per ipsum in fabrica salariae apostolicae in Capitolio* (21 April, 1477). *De mandato . . . flor. quinquaginta de Camera magistro Laurentio de Petrasancta pro fabrica salariae* (7 June, 1477). (Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes*, II. 169) (in French). Muffel speaks of this repository, p. 52.

well as on the Nicholas V. tower, which allowed it to be supposed that the work already done had been executed by his order, and therefore under his pontificate (1489).[1] There was some

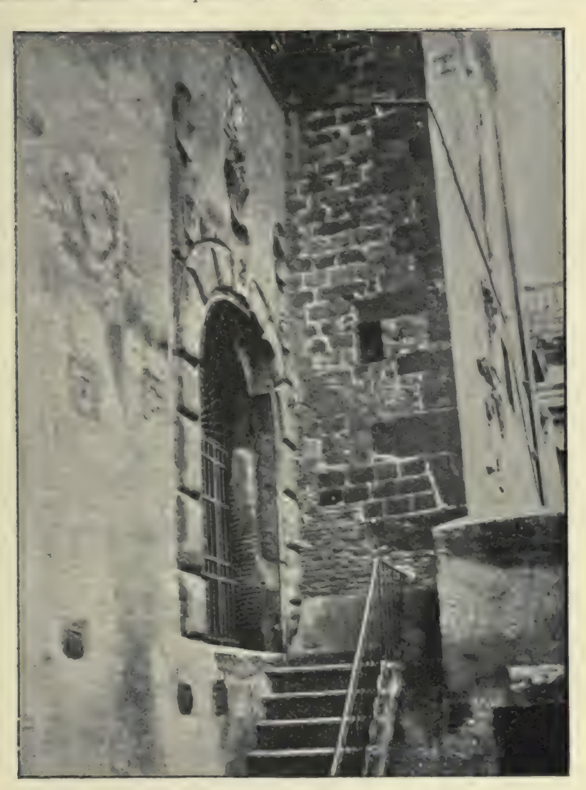


FIG. 20.—DOORWAY OF SIXTUS IV.

restoring work carried out at this date, the cost of which amounted to forty florins.[2]

[1] *Magistro Basso lapicidae* (*sic*) *de Florentia fl.* 14 *de K. X. pro factura quinque lapidum cum armis Smi. D. N. et Commissarii ponendorum supra salariam Capitolii* (19 Aug., 1489). (Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes, Innocent VIII. . . .* Paris, 1898, p. 57, note.)

[2] *Alfonso Salviati de Anania habitatori Urbis florenos quadraginta de K. X.*

The *Tabularium* continued in use as a salt repository until 1623, at which date Urban VIII. created another one near the arch of Lentulus.[1] As a matter of fact, the salt's action threatened to completely eat away the walls of the building, which would have involved the ruin of the whole palace.[2] A street in the vicinity has kept the name of Via Salara Vecchia.

Some texts of the various records give the price of the salt bought by the repository.[3]

It was the *fedeli* of the Capitol who kept the salt and were required to verify the quantities brought in and given out.[4] This duty was also performed by the monks of the Aracoeli monastery; the keeper received as renumeration a grey cloth tunic valued at six florins.[5]

The salt was transported by mules from the port named *Marmorata* to the Capitol.[6]

pro floreno et b. 15 *pro opere per eum facto in salaro Capitolii dicte Urbis* (17 Mar., 1489). *Fl. XL Alfonso Salviati de Anania pro opere per eum facto in salaro Capitolii urbis* (23 June, 1489). *Alfonso Salviati de Anania habitatori Urbis florenos nonaginta octo de K. X. pro floreno et b.* 15 *pro opere per eum facto in salaro Capitolii dicte urbis* (same date.) *Magistro Basso lapicide de Florentia florenos quatuordecim de K. X. pro floreno pro factura quinque lapidum. . . .* (See above.) *Item salvatis ducatos duos similes pro ponendis in loco debito et ordinato huiusmodi lapidibus Alfonso de Anania notario dicti salis qui habeat curam faciendi poni dictos lapides in dictis locis ordinatis et de illis satisfaciat muratori qui dictos lapides ponat* (19 Aug., 1489). (Mand. Camer., 1489–1492, quoted by Müntz, *The Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French), p. 153.)

[1] *Arcus Lentuli et Crispini;* it is situated to the north of the Trigemina gate between the Aventine and the Tiber. Homo, *Lexicon of Topography* (in French).

[2] *Salis officinam adiacentem quae superne ruinam in posterum minabatur longius transferri curavit.* (Forcella, *Iscr.*, I. n. 116.)

[3] Among others: *Solvatis Maximo de Maximis de Urbe Flor. an. de Cam. CCCLXXI et bon. XLII pro valore LVII modiorum salis et unius sexti mensure e Plumbini habitorum ab ipso Maximo ad rationem VI ducat. cum dimidio pro quolibet modio. Quod salis fuit positus in Capitolio in salarie grosse ut apparet manu Notarii salis* (11 Mar., 1460). (Mand. Camer., an. 1460, fol. 7.)

[4] *Solvi faciatis Antonio de Muscianis et Raynaldo Bartholomei de Viturchiano Fidelibus Conservatorum Urbi, recipientes pro se et omnibus aliis Fidelibus dictorum conservatorum ad descriptionem et adnotationem salis quod exit et exitur de salariis seu dohanis salis ad grossum Urbis, Fl. au. de Cam. VI et b. XLII pro eorum omni salario et mercede usque et per totum mensem decembrem proximi preteriti ratione dicte descritionis et adnotationis* (31 Jan., 1466). (Mand. Camer., an. 1464–1466, fol. 150.)

[5] *Solvi faciatis guardiano et fratribus de Aracoeli Flor. au. de Cam VI. ad emendum pannum grisium pro una tunica et tunicella eius fratris qui isto anno tenuit et tenet claves Salarie Cam. Apos. secundum quod superioribus annis fieri consuevit* (15 Dec., 1471). (Mand. Cam., an. 1470–1471, fol. 71.)

[6] *Flor. au. de Camera C provido viro Jacobo Rentii Statii de Urbe per eum exponendos in emendo XXV asinos oportunos ad portandum salem de portu Marmorate ad dohanam Capitolii Urbis* (10 Sept., 1466). (Mand. Cam., an. 1460–1468, fol. 37.) On the previous 7th of September, a hundred florins had been paid to Antonio Galassi and to Nardo di Bartolommeo for the transport of salt. Then, no doubt, it was thought more economical for the Treasury to buy beasts of burden to transport the salt. The port called *Marmorata* formed part of the *Ripa grande*; it was given this name because, at one time, the marble was unloaded there, which was employed in building and which came from the East or from Carrara.

During the Middle Ages the *Tabularium* bore the name of *Camellaria*, on account of a singular error which the copyists made in reading *m* instead of *nc* (*Camellaria* for *Cancellaria*, which recalled its ancient employment). This error lasted a long time. The word *camellaria* is found as early as the



FIG. 21.—DOOR OF THE TABULARIUM.

Bull of Anacletus; and again in an Act dating as late as the end of the fifteenth century, *quidam hortus qui vocatur Camellaria*;[1] for the sort of enclosure at the foot of the *Tabularium* had also received this name.[2]

[1] R. Lanciani, *Bullettino della Com. Archeol. Comunale di Roma*, 1901, p. 250.
[2] The field had been in existence a long time; the Bull of Anacletus mentions it: "... *usque in hortum qui est sub Camellaria*. ..."

Prisons of the Capitol.

Perhaps, even in the thirteenth century, prisons existed in the Capitol; but, if so, they were anything but safe. When, after usurping, in 1267, the Senatorial dignity, Henry, son of Ferdinand, King of Castile, ordered the arrest of Napoleone and Matteo Rosso Orsini, Angelo Malabranca, Giovanni Savelli, and other nobles, on the charge of conspiring against him, he did not dare to keep them in the Capitol, but quickly sent them to the stronghold of Monticelli.[1]

On the other hand, it is certain that at the time when the first statutes of Rome were promulgated, that is, in the second half of the fourteenth century, the Capitol possessed a jail situated in that part of the *Tabularium* which overlooks the *Via del Campidoglio*, near the large square gate already spoken of, and, consequently, in the vicinity of Mount Caprino, where criminals were executed.[2]

This jail depended, not on the Senator, whose powers had been curtailed, but on the people represented by the three Conservators.[3] The keepers, who were appointed by them and had to be exclusively Roman citizens, were paid by their prisoners an entrance fee, which was fixed at four deniers a month, if the latter were Romans, and at six deniers, if they were foreigners. But the keepers were forbidden to claim anything when the prisoners were released. The jailers remained in office for six months only, and were required to deposit a guarantee of a thousand florins, collectively no doubt, since the amount is a high one. If a prisoner escaped, they had to fetch him back at their own expense. They were prohibited from fettering anyone, unless he were a highway robber, a homicide, a forger or some other malefactor, under penalty of death.[4] The statutes stipulated that women should be confined in a separate prison;[5] yet their jailers had to be men.[6] This

[1] Litta, *Fam. Savelli*, t. II., and E. Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecdot.*, II. 543. Yet the Senator Carushomo had been shut up there for a long time in 1194. Gregorovius, II. 606, note 66.

[2] Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 19.

[3] Bk. III., art. CVI. "*Statuimus et ordinamus quod custodia cancellarie palatii Capitolii in qua detinentur et detineri debent captivi nullatenus ad dominum senatorem pertinet nec de ejus custodia et custodibus se modo aliquo intromictat. Sed custodia et provisio custodie et deputatio custodum ipsius cancellarie totaliter spectet . . . et pertineat ad dominos conservatores camere Urbis presentes et futuros.*" Mention is made of the prisons existing in the lower story of the palace, in the *Vita de Cola de Rienzi*, Bracciano, 1624, p. 262. The tribune let himself down in them with sheets from the Senatorial hall, where he was, in order to escape.

[4] Same article as above.

[5] *Et pro mulieribus fiat locus separatus in Capitolio de cancellaria prefata in qua dicte mulieres detineantur de fructu et pecunia camere.* (Bk. II., art. LXXII.)

[6] *Ibid.*

prescription was not put into practice until later;[1] and women prisoners continued to be confined for debt, or even when condemned to death, in the convents of the City. When Pope Innocent VII., by the Brief of the 15th of March, 1406, ordered the Senator Giovanni Francesco de Panciatici to release a certain number of prisoners detained for debt and other misdemeanours, he took care to mention that the women were confined in convents.[2]

THE TARPEIAN MOUNT OR MOUNT CAPRINO.

In the Middle Ages nothing survived of what had constituted the splendour of the Tarpeian Mount of antiquity. Here and there only were a few scattered shafts of columns lying, a few sides of walls that had fallen, a few vestiges of foundations,[3] while the other end of the Capitoline Mount was becoming the centre of municipal life, and a church, that of S. Maria Aracoeli, adorned it.[4] Furthermore, this portion of the hill was soon chosen as the public execution place. In a chronicle of the thirteenth century, relating the legend of Pope Filigato (996), we read: " . . . *idcirco usque adhuc nullus papa venire vult in montem tarpeium ad arcem Urbis Romae scilicet in Capitolium ubi iste Johannes tormenta sustinuit. Ibi itaque semper ferebantur sententiae mortis contra sceleratos et contra adversarios Romanorum.*"[5]

To this spot the name *platea* or *spianata* was given, in translation of the word *area*, *area capitolina* (as opposed to *arx*), which had formerly designated it. This explains why the place of execution was often so called. Fra Montreale, who was condemned to death by Rienzo, was led "*a lo piano*" to be executed there. His head was cut off near the ruins of a tower.[6]

[1] See p. 163, note 3. Yet there were exceptions; see p. 160.

[2] Theiner, *Cod. diplom. S. Sedis*, III. 150. Debts chiefly were meant that were contracted to the Pontifical Treasury.

[3] Poggio, who came to Rome in the pontificate of Boniface IX. (1389–1404), speaks of the Tarpeian Mount in similar terms in his work: *De Fortunae Varietate Urbis Romae*, p. 131: "*Cum . . . Capitolium collem condescendissemus . . . consedimus in ipsis Tarpee arcis ruinis, pone ingens porte cujusdam marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas, unde magna ex parte prospectus Urbis patet.*"

[4] Several churches were built on the approaches to the Tarpeian Mount, but none on the summit.

[5] As regards the legend of Filigato, see Stevenson's article in the *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, an. IX., 1881, p. 95. The quotation in it, Pertz, *Mon. germ. Hist.*, XX. 186, 245, which is reproduced by Lanciani, *Bull. Arch. Com.*, an. XXIX. 1901, p. 251, is erroneous: t. XXIV. 186, should be read. For the real history of this Pope, see Gregorovius, II. 102, note 21.

[6] *La Vita de Cola de Rienzi*, p. 251, ed. Zefirino, p. 156. Mention is made of this place in the statutes of 1363, Bk. II. cap. V.: ". . . *In platea Sancte Marie de*

The spot appointed for executions is fixed with accuracy by a curious document. In 1385, Giordanello degli Ilperini or Alberini, a nobleman of the Monti quarter, was cast into the prisons of the Capitol.[1] Fearing the rage of the lords bannerets, "*furor presentium dominorum banderentium*," and not wishing to die without a will, he drew one up, forthwith, in the great hall where the assemblies of the people were held. Among other dispositions, he required his heirs to spend two florins in having a figure painted "*ad imaginem gloriosissime virginis Marie*," in front of the gibbet and place of execution, "*ante furcas et locum iustitie*." And, in fact, the figure was painted beneath the portico of a granary belonging to the Maffei family, in a spot indicated by Infessura thus: "*in una costa di muro appresso santa Maria delle grazie di sotto a Campidoglio a piedi lo monte*."[2] Thenceforward, criminals had a sight that consoled them in their last moments.

The custom of hanging people in this place was continued in the fifteenth century. In the *Diario di Antonio Petri* (1407) is the expression: "*In loco iustitiae, videlicet in plano Capitolii*."[3] The gallows is clearly visible in the Sienna plan. Somewhat later, documentary allusions become more frequent. An Act dated in 1457 bears on it: "*in loco qui dicitur Monte Arpetio* (*Tarpeio*) *sive lo piano inter hos fines . . . ab alio via per quam itur ad furcas*." In another document, dated in 1473, and referring to the settling of a boundary, the following passage occurs: "*ab alio tenet locus iustitiae qui dicitur lo piano*." This same document informs us that, behind the palace of the Conservators, lay a garden belonging to them, part of which exists to-day, while the other has been taken into the Caffarelli palace, which, at present, is the German embassy.[4]

Executions were witnessed by the Senator. It was a duty incumbent on his office. He took up his position at the window in the palace situated in the southern tower. This window, as

araceli a sancto Sergio et Baccho et a pede vie fave toste supra versus capitolium et in plano capitolii." So, Bk. II. cap. LXVIII. § 3: ". . . *versus planum et capitolium*."

1 Pietro Pericoli, *L'Hospedale di S. Maria della Consolazione di Roma*, Imola, 1879.

2 Stefano Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 72. From the 26th of June, 1470, this picture began to work miracles. On account of them, a church was built which received the name of S. Maria della Consolazione. Cf. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 536, who gives a different version of the legend.

3 Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 982.

4 Article of the Comm. R. Lanciani, *Lo Monte Tarpeio, nel secolo XVI*, in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeol. Com. di Roma*, 1901, p. 245: About the year 1538, a great part of the *piano* became the property of the Caffarelli or Caraffelli family, as already stated on page 112. With regard to the donation, see Huelsen, *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols*, p. 280. This portion of Mount Caprino was in great part planted with olives. While excavating on this side in 1896, the foundations of what was supposed to be the gallows were found,

previously said, was ornamented in 1413 by the Senator Nicola of Diano.[1]

Among the celebrated executions which took place on the gibbet of Mount Caprino was that of the accomplices of the Chevalier Stefano Porcari, who himself was hanged from the battlements of St. Angel's castle in 1453. His accomplices were nine in number; and eight of them were hanged together.[2] In 1490, a man accused of trying to poison Pope Innocent VIII., at the instigation of the Sultan of Constantinople, was beaten to the ground, on the ordinary execution place, by blows on his head with a club; then he was struck on the chest and stomach with an iron-covered fist, after which he was drawn and quartered.[3] Hangings were numerous; in 1507, there were seven.[4] The gibbet continued to be used in this spot until 1550, when the improvements that were undertaken in the surroundings brought about its suppression.[5] Thenceforward, criminals were hanged on the Giudea square, at the entrance to the Ghetto.

On occasion, use was made, as a prison, of the ruins standing on this portion of the hill, perhaps of some pits that will be spoken of further. Under the pontificate of Innocent III., the Romans confined their prisoners of war there.[6]

The neighbouring quarters, suffering from the presence of the gibbet, remained deserted and neglected. Goats browsed in them, which soon caused the hill to receive the name of Mount Caprino, a name that it retained for a long time.[7] The locality was almost a jungle. Gregory XIII., having remade, in 1582, the road that led to it, was justified in having inscribed on a stone that still exists in the *Via di Monte Tarpeio* these words: "*Hinc ad tarpejam sedem et capitolia ducit. Pervia nunc olim silvestribus horrida dumis. . . .*"[8]

The rope-makers and hemp-dressers had availed themselves of the place being so abandoned, and had established themselves on the Caprino Mount. They were already there when the *Mirabilia*[9] was written, and remained for a long while. It

[1] Page 88.
[2] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 55.
[3] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 255.
[4] *Archiv. di Stato*, Archiv. di s. Giovanni Decollato, vol. VII. p. 193.
[5] *Archiv. di Stato*, Archiv. di s. Giovanni Decollato, vols. I. and III.
[6] "*Senator universos captivos misit in Canapariam multis miseriis macerandos.*" Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, III. 564. *Vita Inn. P. III* ex Stephano Baluzio. Cf. Casimiro, *Memorie di S. Maria in Aracoeli*, p. 681.
[7] See the Acts mentioned further on.
[8] Forcella, *Isc.*, XIII. 87, No. 118. Cf. Lanciani, *Lo Monte Tarpeio*, in the *Bullettino della Com. Archeol. Com. di Roma*, 1901, p. 254. Cf. p. 89, n. 5.
[9] "*In summitate arcis super porticum Crinorum fuit templum Iovis et Monete . . . ex alia parte Capitolii supra Cannaparam templum Iunonis*" (page 18). It is evident that the two temples of Jupiter Capitolinus and Juno Moneta are confused here. They were so for a long time. The donation of Anacletus likewise mentions the trades of the hemp-dressers: "*Revolventes se per appendices suas super canaparia.*" Mention is also made of them in a letter written by Innocent III.

was the only spot in Rome where they could carry on their trade.[1] One family in particular, that of the Surdi, was working there in the sixteenth century.[2] But towards the end of this century, the corporation claimed the whole of Mount Caprino for its members ; and the Communal Council granted the claim (July—August, 1587).[3] However, at the end of the following century, in 1671, Mount Caprino was still occupied, exclusively, by a single manufacturer, who rented the premises necessary for his industry from the Archbrotherhood *degli Orfani*.[4] It would seem to have been only part of the hill that belonged to the Archbrotherhood ; the rest belonged to the Roman people, who in 1612 leased on it, to Gio. Battista and Giacomo de Vellis, "a house with an underground portion."[5] In 1743, a rope-maker applied to the Communal Council for a small piece of ground whereon to exercise his trade. This application was granted to him, in the sitting of the 9th of July.[6]

In Mount Caprino there were also siloes. Some of them are distinctly visible in Heemskerck's plan, reproduced above

to the archpriest Romano and the scholars of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco. ". . . *Unum casalinum in regione S. Theodori in pede Canaparie*" (P. Casimiro, *Memorie di S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 679). A neighbouring church, that of S. Maria della Grazie, also bore the name of S. Maria Cannaparia (Armellini, 530).

[1] Their trades are seen on Heemskerck's plan, published by Lanciani, p. 261, and reproduced here.

[2] Agreement drawn up, on the 9th of October, 1555, between the brothers Girolamo, Mario, and Vincenzo de Surdis, on the occasion of certain repairs to be made in the establishment they possessed in common on "*certum terrenum seu locum dicto lo tiratore situm in Urbe in loco dicto Monte Caprino prope Capitolium.*" In 1558, Girolamo sold his portion of land to his brother Vincenzo, "*cuiusdam siti seu tiratori vulgariter nuncupati . . . in loco dicto Monte Chabrino.*" This land is bounded on one side by the summit of the hill, on the other by the road leading to the church of S. Maria della Consolazione. As to the price of the lot, it was fixed at twenty-five crowns (Lanciani, art. quoted). In 1564, Vincenzo bought, for the same sum, his brother Mario's portion, which seems to have been nearest to the palace of the Conservators : "*A duobus lateribus vie publice in conspectu Palatii Conservatorum Urbis.*"

[3] *De Monte Capitolino per mercatores lanae petito. Lecto memoriali porrecto per mercatores artis lanae petentes eis concedi partem Montis Capitolini pro eorum usu et semper de illo demittendo et relasciando arbitrio po. Ro. illoque discusso decretum est quod Conservatores et Prior et Dni. Marcellus Niger et Hieronimus Alterius audiant petitionem Universitatis, locum videant et omnia publico Concilio referant.—Decretum est quod locus predictus eidem Universitati concedatur, relinquendus et restituendus po. Ro. ad omnem ipsius po. liberam voluntatem et requisitionem.* (Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 89–94.)

[4] *Patente di concessione a Girolamo Righezzi e Compagni di potere fare uno Stenditore di panni a Ponte Rotto cioè Ponte s. Maria verso Trastevere . . . per non esservi Tiratori abbastanza per stendere panni e coperte, non essendovi in Roma che un sol luogo a Monte Caprino dove sieno simili edificii spellanti alla ven. Arciconfraternita degli Orfani ed affitati ad uno solo* (3 July, 1671). (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XI. vol. 22, fol. 123.)

[5] "*Domus cum una crypta subterranea in Monte Tarpejo juxta bona, ab uno latere Archiospedatis s. Spiritus in Saxia, ante via publica quae tendit ad templum B. Mariae Consolationis, ab alio alique ruine aedificiorum antiquorum.*" The rent to be paid was a pound of white wax at Christmas. (Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. XI. vol. 19, p. 20.)

[6] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VII. vol. 100, fol. 515.

(dating back to about the year 1534), near the road leading from the gibbet to the church of Consolation. They are six in number. The origin of the siloes is explained by the crypts that existed as last vestiges of ancient buildings. In 1433, the



FIG. 22.—THE TARPEIAN MOUNT AND THE SILOES. HEEMSKERCK'S DESIGN (according to the *Bullettino Archeologico*).

following mention is made in the inventory of a minor's property : "*Nonnulla putea ad conservandum granum sita in Reg. Campitelli apud Ecclesiam S. Marie quibus a duobus lateribus tenent res dicte ecclesie* . . ." A little later, in 1489, mention is made, in an Act of assignment, of "*nonnullis puteis aptis*

ad reponendum granum sitis . . . in loco qui dicitur s. Maria della Consolazione iuxta palatium Capitolii." These pits were not all, as the two foregoing texts might give reason to think, round the church *della Consolazione*, in the hollow that separates the Capitol from the Palatine; there were some on the slope of the hill. Indeed, we read, in a deed of sale dated the 5th of April, 1567, and referring to a crypt "*cum quodam cortile et muris*," that the said crypt is situated "*in loco detto li pozzi di monte Tarpeio sopra la Consolazione.*"[1] Siloes were still in common employment in the fifteenth century. The hospital of S. Giovanni, called Sancta Sanctorum, purchased one, at the fairly high price of thirty-three florins, to be used as a corn-granary.[2] However, their importance subsequently diminished. In 1612, the City, which owned part of them, transferred its rights to the hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione, after estimating that they were not worth a hundred crowns.[3]

In the year 1538 about, a large part of the *piano* of Mount Caprino became the property of the Caraffelli or Caffarelli, owing to a donation made by Charles V. to the young Ascanio, one of his pages, perhaps to recompense the hospitality shown him by the page's family in the palace *dei Valle*. But it is not known by what right the Emperor disposed of a piece of ground that must, so it seems, have belonged to the Commune.[4] In 1576, Prospero Caffarelli sold one lot of this ground to the Conservators, in order that they might enlarge their palace; and, shortly afterwards, in 1606, the Conservators, or rather the Communal Council, behaved in a similar way to him.[5]

Executions in the Capitoline Palace.

Whilst hangings took place on the gibbet of Mount Caprino, the beheadings were carried out on the Square of the Capitol, and even inside the palace. If Fra Montreale was beheaded at the foot of the Mount Caprino tower, it was by way of compromise, since he was considered as much a malefactor and an "enemy of the people" as a prisoner of war.

[1] R. Lanciani, *Lo Monte Tarpeio*, article quoted.

[2] Archivio di Sancta Sanctorum, called *Maremagnum* in the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*, 1462, fol. 269, in the margin: *Super puteis iuxta Capitolium pro grano.* In the text: *Emptio puteorum ad reponendum granum facta a filio quôd Nicolai De Marganis pro pretio Flor. XXXIII.*

[3] *De interesse et jure quod habet Po. Ro. super situ et griptis subtus Montem Caprinum donando Ecclesiae et Hospita B. Mariae Consolationis.* (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 42. Sitting of the 11th of November, 1612.)

[4] R. Lanciani, art. quoted, p. 258; Cancellieri, *Il Mercato*, p. 10.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 15, and vol. 31. Secret council of the 30th of October, 1606.

Usually, executions in the Capitol took place on the great staircase, near the lion. It was there that, on the 3rd of March, 1398, the conspirators were beheaded who had attempted to re-establish the power of the bannerets, destroyed by Pope Boniface IX.[1]

In the fifteenth century, executions were frequent. In 1405, Paolo Maracini, Giovanni Gnafri, and Motta were beheaded in the Capitol. In 1406, Antonio Carola was beheaded there also, as well as Giovanni Colonna, Jacovo de Nepi, "*miles libertatis*," Ricardo Sanguineis, rebels against Pope Gregory XII.[2] In 1497, Galleotto de Normanis was "*decollatus, de mane, hora consueta, in loco iustitiae Capitolii, tanquam proditor Urbis.*" Sometimes the execution was carried out in the evening: "*De sero, hora completorii, fuit capta uxor Cole Cancellarii de Reg. Columne ac etiam Paulus de Cancellariis . . . omnes tanquam proditores Urbis et ducti per mercatum ad Capitolium et martirizati.*" Before each execution, the condemned person had his sentence read to him, in the great hall of the Capitol. The bell rang thrice, and, at the third peal, he was put to death.[3] In certain cases, the bell was not rung; but this, as previously said, was when the execution was considered to be a murder.[4] Occasionally, the execution was inside the palace. We read that Lello Capocci was decapitated "*intus in palatio Capitolii ad pedem secunde columne ubi tenetur ratio.*"[5] The Square of the Capitol was also used as a place to expose criminals. Cardinal Vitelleschi shut up in three wooden cages, which were set there for the people to mock at, a triplet of thieves who had stolen the precious stones adorning the reliquary wherein were kept, at the church of St. John Lateran, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.[6] The thieves were subsequently executed on the Square of the Lateran.

Now and again, hangings took place from the windows or arcades of the Capitoline *loggia*. On the 19th of December, 1458, Bernardo della Rosa was hanged from the window of the great staircase.[7] At that time, however, hangings were not frequent. Infessura complains of it: "*In Capitolio nulla vel saltem rara executio corporalis fit, nisi quod per curiam domini vicecamerarii aliqui nocte suspenduntur et mane suspensi*

[1] Gregorovius, III. 566; D. Orano, *Il Sacco di Roma*, p. 29.
[2] *Liber Pontificalis*, II. 534.
[3] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.* XXIV. 977 and following. [4] Page 69.
[5] Muratori, as above, p. 1055.
[6] Infessura, as above, p. 36, with an engraving of the time representing the scene.
[7] Nantiporto, Muratori, III². 1097. Infessura, p. 65: ". . . *Lo di ultimo d'ottobre* (1459), *foro appicati in Campitoglio ad quelli archi dello palazzo in nella loia et fo appeso Tiburtio, Bonanno Specchio, et Rienzo, et Cola de Joanni et Cola Roscio de Treio.*"

reperiuntur apud turrim Nonae sine nomine et sine causa: et hoc ordine vivitur hodie in Urbe sedente Innocentio octavo" (1489).[1]

The Custody of the Capitol.

The custody of the Capitol was one of the duties incumbent on the Senators. The statutes of 1363, no doubt reproducing an anterior obligation, required them to bring with them twenty men-at-arms mounted on good horses.[2] They had also to maintain a guard of twenty foot-soldiers, who were bound to stay in the palace, night and day.[3] As the Senators enjoyed office only for half a year, or a year at most, the men of the Capitol guard were frequently changed. The inconveniences of this system must have been felt at an early period after, since, in the century following, there seems to have been, besides the special guard, a garrison variable as to the number of men composing it, but of a more stable character. It numbered thirty men in 1433; and they received, from the Apostolic Chamber, a pay of three florins a month.[4] The visit which the Emperor Sigismund paid to Rome, in that year, was perhaps the cause of this measure. It was, however, continued; and twenty-five years later, in 1458, the garrison was still maintained and had the same number of men, after having temporarily been increased to fifty. A "Constable" was at their head; and the pay of all the body amounted to fifty florins a month.[5]

In view of this increase of the garrison, it had been necessary to appropriate the accommodation of the Guard-house. A payment made in the next year mentions the fact expressly.[6]

[1] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 244. The *torre di Nona* stood on the banks of the Tiber, nearly opposite St. Angel's castle,

[2] Book III., art. I. These men of the guard must be distinguished from the *fedeli*, who were in the service of the Conservators, and acted more peculiarly as ushers and apparitors, although having a military organisation. In 1624, they were exonerated even from all military service. (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 288.)

[3] Book III., art. I.

[4] *Solvi faciatis Magro militi dno. Cechino de Campello de Spoleto alme Urbis Rome Senatori illustri pro stipendio unius mensis finiendi die XXV presentis pro XXX paghis deputatis ad custodiam dicti palatii Capitolii ad rationem trium floren. de L bol. pro floreno pro quolibet paga* (21 April, 1433). Same mention in July with this addition: *Pro stipendiis XXX peditum deputatorum ad custodiam Capitolii ultra familia in dicto Capitolio solitum teneri pro Senatori.* (Mand. Cam., an. 1433, fol. 79, 80.)

[5] *Solvatis D. Iohanni de Leono alme Urbis Vice-Senatori fl. au. de cam. L aa distribuendum intra illos XXX pedites cum uno Comestabili ad cust. Capitolii deputato* (13 Aug., 1458). The previous pay amounted to seventy-five florins. (Mand. Cam., an. 1457–1458, fol 6, 119.)

[6] . . . *Ratione certe fabrice seu acconciamenti facti in palatio Capitolii pro stantia alias habitatione peditum ad custodiam dicti palatii Capitolii deputatorum* (19 Jan., 1459). (Mand. Cam., an. 1458–1460, fol. 68.)

The alterations were carried through all the more quickly, as Pope Pius II. had gone away to attend the congress at Mantua (1458); and the tranquillity of the City seemed to be less assured.[1] The garrison of the Capitol was increased to thirty-



FIG. 23.—THE CAPITOLINE MOUNT ABOUT THE YEAR 1552. ENGRAVING TAKEN FROM LIGORIO'S PLAN.

five men, with an aggregate pay of sixty florins,[2] soon to be again augmented and placed under the command of two

[1] *Fl. XLIX bol. X Magistro Galasso de Bononia pro fabrica per eum facta in palatio Capitolii, videlicet quasdam bertescas et mantiones pro pedetibus et multa alia necessaria ad custodiam dicti Capitolii* (July, 1459). (Mand. Cam., an. 1458-1460, fol. 169.) A little further on, it will be seen that the garrison was generally reinforced when the Pope was absent (p. 116, note 5). [2] *Ibid.*, fol. 173.

Constables.[1] In September (1460), the garrison was composed of fifty men and a lancer, commanded by Tartaglia di Fuligno; the men received two florins a month; the lancer, eight.[2] The times were troublous; a certain Tiburzio was fomenting a revolt. He was hanged, on the 31st of October, from the arcades of the Capitol *loggia*;[3] and, tranquillity being restored, the palace garrison was reduced to twenty-five men. At the same date, the organisation of the troop was modified; instead of depending on the Holy See, through the Senator who was commissioned to pay them, the soldiers in it were placed under the orders of a Constable directly responsible to the Holy See;[4] and from the same date, the Constable remained several years in his command. Thus, imperceptibly, in the manner customary with the Holy See, the transformation was achieved, and the small garrison occupying the Capitol fell completely under its control. In the pontificate of Innocent VIII., and during the year 1486, as the City was disturbed by the quarrels of the barons, and irritated by the Pope's bad government, there were sixty footmen and ten horsemen in the Capitol, besides thirty men under the orders of the Constable, Giovanni da Ferrara, and ten men under the orders of Giuliano da Aquilano. The pay varied from twenty-five to sixty florins a month.[5]

[1] *Infrascripti Comestabiles ad custodiam Capitolii deputati: Ambrosio de Senis cum paghis XXV, Ambrosio de Florentino cum paghis XX.* (Mand. Cam., an. 1460, fol. 6; 5 March.)

[2] Mand. Cam., an. 1460, fol. 59. This pay was handed by the Apostolic Chamber either to the Senator or his chancellor. [3] See above, p. 117, note 3.

[4] *Fl. CCXL strenuo comestabili Principato de Sancto Gregorio ad custodiam Capitolii cum paghis XXX* (4 May, 1463). (Mand. Cam., an. 1462–1463, fol. 138, and an. 1464, fol. 38.) The pay was given to the men without intermediary. Yet, in 1479, thirty florins were handed to Marino da Aquila "*ad custodiam Capitolii sub obedientia Dni. Senatoris.*"

[5] Mand. Cam., an. 1464–1466, fol. 12, 66, 211, 291; an. 1466–1468, fol. 2, 68, 145; an. 1469–1470, fol. 110, 215, 232; an. 1470–1471, fol. 9, 21, 62, 67, 108, 139; an. 1471–1473, fol. 137; an. 1472–1476, fol. 18; an. 1482–1484, fol. 227, 250. *Franciso de Cassia Comestabili ad custodiam Capitolii cum paghis XX conducto propter absentiam Dni. Papae* (13 July), and so on. Later, in 1486: *Flor. LXXV Iohanni de Ferraria Comestabili Capitolii pro eius et XXX pagharum unius mensis provisione* (28 Nov.).—*Flor. XXV Juliano de Aquila Comestabili Capitolii pro sua et X pagharum unius mensis provisione* (1 Dec.).—*Flor. XXV Juliano de Aquila pro eius et X pagharum provisione unius mensis* (1 Jan., 1487). (Mand. Camer., an. 1484–1489, fol. 262, 264; an. 1487–1488, fol. 317.) In September, 1470, some repairs had been made to the quarters of the guards of the Capitol. *Flor. XXXII bol. LXXI Magro. Dominico de Florentia fabro lignaminis per eum expensis in faciendas certas domus in palatio Capitolii pro usu stipendiatorum.* (Mand. Cam., an. 1470-1471, fol. 21.)

In closing this account of the guards of the Capitol, it is apposite to speak here of the geese. The Capitol Museum possesses two in bronze, taken from the thermae of Diocletian, where the Chartreux fathers, who had a monastery there, had kept them piously with many other antiquities. In March, 1727, an antiquary, named Bertoli, bought all these antiquities for the Emperor of Germany, except the geese, which the Conservators claimed for the Capitol. (Cancellieri, *Il Colombo*, p. 390.)

Mention has already been made of the wall-painting, dating back (according to Gerardi) to the first half of the fourteenth century, and discovered in 1898, which re-

Festivities held in the Capitol in the Fifteenth Century.

In 1408, the people having been partially reinstated in their liberties by the Holy See, the bannerets went to swear fidelity and obedience to the Cardinal Legate as representing the Pope. A public festivity was held on the occasion ; the Cardinal gave them banners which, in the haste, had not been quite finished ; and they bore these to the Capitol, where the *caporioni*, the heads of the quarters, were awaiting them. They were welcomed to the sound of trumpets and drums, and forthwith were installed in their palace.[1]

More regular rejoicings grew to be the custom with the coronation of each Pope. The officers and magistrates of the City met at an evening banquet, the expense of which was paid out of the Communal treasury. In 1471, on the occasion of the coronation of Sixtus IV., this expense amounted to the considerable sum of fifty florins.[2]

About the middle of the century, the custom began of presenting to the Senator and the people, assembled on the steps of the Capitol, the bulls that were to figure in the games which were celebrated each year, in the month of February, on Mount Testaccio. The presentation was made by the *caporioni*, whose duty it was to provide the bulls. Then the animals were taken in great pomp throughout the city. The rivalry of the various quarters broke out into a sanguinary struggle, whenever the bulls brought by one of the *caporioni* received too many marks of approbation. This was the case in 1483. The *marescalchi*

presented the Capitoline geese. (*Bullettino Arch. Com.*, an. 1899, tav. XII.) Though they were venerated in Rome, they were pursued with a tenacious hatred in France in the beginning of last century, if, at least, we may believe the Count Senator Lanjuinais. The following is a reply he wrote in May, 1810, to Abbé Cancellieri after a letter to him from the Abbé : " . . . As regards the game called the beheading of the geese, it is still frequently practised in communes round Paris, and it was formerly practised in the town fêtes of Paris. I have heard it conjectured that this game comes from a sort of vengeance and hatred nourished by the Gauls against the species of bird that prevented their army from seizing the Capitol." (Cancellieri, *Il Mercato e Lago*, p. 276.) This is how the game was played. The players' eyes were bandaged, and they were placed at a certain distance from a hanging goose. Then they had to try to seize it and cut its head off with a knife. As they more often than not lost their way, they struck their blows in the air. It would seem, however, that the length of the goose'e neck, rather than the persistent hatred mentioned by Lanjuinais, suggested this bird's being employed in the game. Now, the game is still practised in country-places, but the goose is replaced by a nosegay tied to a string.

[1] Muratori, *R. It. Script.* XXIV. 980 ; Gregorovius, III. 592.

[2] *Solvatis Magnificis alme Urbis Conservatoribus fl. L pro expensis per eos factis in prandio officialium et civium romanorum qui offitiarunt SS^me D. N., in die coronationis* (25 Sept., 1471). (*Archiv. di Stato*, M. Camer., 1471–1473, fol. 17.)

(horse police) of the Monti quarter came to blows with those of the Trans-Tiber quarter, the population of which, indeed, had a reputation, not unmerited, for pugnacity. The militia of the other quarters joined in the quarrel ; and the fray became so general and sanguinary that the Conservators, after vain efforts at intervention, were forced to hastily retire to their palace.[1]

Bull-fights on Mount Testaccio and the exhibition at the Capitol continued in the following century. Occasionally, the fight took place in the Square itself. The bulls were set at liberty, and dogs were allowed to enrage them ; after which those taking part in the games were required to master them. There is a reference to a bull-fight, in the Capitol, in an advertisement to the millers of the City, during the year 1535, that they must share in the expenses of the performance.[2]

The ceremonial of the festivity was not, however, changed ; the procession was held as usual. In 1536, the inhabitants of Tivoli, one of the vassal cities of Rome, attended with "their players" on horseback, clad in black velvet, and holding in sign of submission the red standard of the Roman people.[3]

EPISODES.

In 1424, Fra Bernardino of Sienna preached in the Capitol, near the obelisk. He spoke especially against magicians and sorcerers, who deceived the people. After hearing him, the people gathered on the Square a quantity of mystical objects used in witchcraft and burnt them.[4] Packs of cards were also burnt, says Paolo della Mastro, and many Jews were baptized.[5]

In 1448, another monk, Roberto da Lecce, preached on the

[1] Muratori, *R. It. Script.*, XXIV. 1082.

[2] In the margin: "*Significatio pro molendinariis.* Text: *Vobis Magis Conservatoribus alme Urbis et aliis ad quos spectat. De mandato Etc. auctoritate Etc. harum seriè significamus qualiter cum molendinarii molarum alme Urbis ex causa solutionis impositionis trium Duc. pro qualibet mola pro publico festo sive spectaculo Taurorum Carnisprivii in Capitolio die lune facto ad S.N.D. recursum habuissent S. Stas hujusmodi causam nobis in Cam. Ap. cognoscere commisit. Ideo magnificentiam vestram hortamur ut eosdem Molendinarios donec causa hujusmodi in dicta Camera cognita et decisa fuerit molestare facere nolint. Dat. Rome in Cam. Ap. die X mensis Februarii* 1535 (*Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Camer. vol. 97, fol. 90). Bull fights had taken place, two centuries before, in the Coliseum. P. Adinolfi, *Roma nell' Età di Mezzo*, I. 367. Cf. F. Clementi, *Il Carnevale Romano*, Rome, without date, p. 33. Chronicle of Monaldeschi in Muratori, XII. 535.

[3] Forcella, *Tornei e giostri, Ingressi trionfali sotto Paolo III*, Rome, 1875, p. 29.

[4] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 25.

[5] *Diario di Paolo dello Mastro*, published by Achilles de Antonis in *Il Buonarroti*, an. X. (1875), p. 39.

Square of the Capitol, against the quarrels which permanently divided families and afflicted the city; and, as always happens in such cases, he brought about a general but ephemeral reconciliation.[1]

Aurelia Extricata.

In the month of April, 1485, there was exhibited in the palace of the Conservators, near the cistern, the body of a child of fourteen or fifteen years old, which had been found in a sarcophagus, five miles from Rome, amidst a heap of ruins known under the name of Roma Vecchia, at the spot called *Fondo statuario*,[2] along the Appian Way. It was an important event in the municipal life of Rome, and all the chroniclers had much to say about it.[3] This body was of wondrous beauty, and admirably preserved. Black hair confined in a net fell in abundant masses on either side of the head, over shoulders of the purest modelling; the half-open mouth revealed teeth of a dazzling white and regularly arranged, and a pink tongue; the lips were red, the eyebrows black; and all the limbs retained the flexibility of life. The lead coffin in which it was placed contained a fragrant substance that some recognised as myrrh and frankincense, others as turpentine, and that had, whatever its nature, a strange and penetrating odour.

The report of this discovery having spread abroad, an immense crowd flocked to see the sight. One would have thought it was an indulgence that was being proclaimed, says one of the narrators, judging by the way in which the Romans hastened to the Capitol. Dealers even established themselves on the Square to sell vegetables and other commodities.[4] The perfect preservation of the body gave rise to all sorts of suppositions; and people saw in it the manifest proof of a

[1] Infessura, p. 47.

[2] Nibby, *Analisi*, III. 114.

[3] *Diario di Nantiporto*, Muratori, *R. Ital. Script.*, III². 1093; Infessura, 178; letter from Bartolomeo Fonti to Francesco Sassetti, found in the Bibl. Universitaria di Bologna, cod. 2382, fol. XXVIII., and published by Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien und die Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1879, p. 120. Tommasini gives a nomenclature of the sources, in Infessura, p. 179, note. Pastor, *History of the Popes* (in French), t. V. 1898, p. 321, gives all the bibliography of this discovery. Cf. the study of Huelsen in *Mittheil. d. oest. Instituts*, IV. 433–449, and Tode, the same collection, pp. 75–91.

[4] Besides the sources mentioned above, Montfaucon, *Diarium Italic.*, XI. 187; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892, p. 295; Tommasini, *Campagna romana*, *Via Latina*, p. 50; Volterrano, *Comment. Rer. Urb.*, 1551, c. 954; Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografica della carta dei Contorni di Roma*, 1848, t. II. 374. The Cod. Ashburnham, 1174, fol. 134, contains an original design reproducing the body of Aurelia, such as it was discovered and brought to the palace of the Conservators. The *Nouveau Cracas*, n. 12, Sept.–Dec., 1893, Rome, has reproduced the design in an article dealing with the whole of this discovery.

miraculous protection.[1] There were certain persons who maintained that the body was that of Tullia, Cicero's daughter. In order to put an end to the comments aroused by this exhibition, and to the legends that were beginning to be formed, Pope Innocent VIII. had the body taken away almost immediately and thrown into a grave outside the walls of the city, on the side of the Pincio villa, taking care that the place of burial should not be known. However, as soon as the body had been exposed to the contact of the air, it turned black.

The inscription engraven on the sarcophagus in which it had been found was deciphered at a much later date. It read :

M. M.
AVREL
EXTRICATE,

the interpretation of which is "*Manibus*" or "*Memoria Aurelie Extricate*." The tragic masks with which the sides of the sarcophagus were adorned, suggested that the body was that of a ballet-dancer.

[1] *Taceant quae loquuntur miracula post cristi adventum. Nam hoc quod ante putatur, longe majus est et admirabilius* (Letter from Rome in G. Mancini, *Vita di L. Valla*, Florence, 1891, p. 161). Villamont, who visited Italy in 1589, writes, in the narration of his journey : "In the time of Pope Alexander VI., the body of a girl was found intact, and undecayed, having been preserved by means of balms, so that she seemed only to be asleep on a marble table where she was lying, her blonde hair still tied with a golden band ; and at her feet was a burning light, which, as soon as the sepulchre was opened, lost its lustre and splendour ; and, as could be known by the letters engraven there, it was thirteen hundred years since she had been put there, being the body of Tulliola, Cicero's daughter ; which body, having been presented intact to the Conservators of Rome, was placed in the Capitol, to be kept there as a relic. Which having heard, Pope Alexander had it thrown into the Tiber, saying that so to preserve with care the body of an infidel was not reasonable."—By this story, it will be recognised that the legend had already grown up.





THE MODERN CAPITOL

THE CAPITOL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Transformation of the Palaces.

It was during the sixteenth century that the Capitol lost its aspect of a feudal stronghold, and became the correct-looking and symmetrically-framed building that it appears to-day.[1]

This transformation, which corresponds to that of the municipal powers,[2] was effected by successive stages. During the first period, which extends from the beginning of the century to the sack of Rome in 1527, hardly any work was done except to the palace of the Conservators. The coming of the Emperor Charles V., in 1536, awoke in the Romans the ambition to make their common abode worthy of the illustrious name it bore. Michael Angelo was requested to transform the palaces. However, through lack of the necessary funds, the only thing achieved during a lapse of nearly thirty years (1536–1563 about) was to lay out and ornament the Square of the Capitol, and to construct a fine and easy approach to it on the side of the City. When this task was accomplished, the entire plan as proposed by Michael Angelo was taken up again; and the two palaces—that of the Senator and that of the Conservators—assumed almost the appearance they have at present. The work was completed when Pope Clement VIII. had reduced the height of the two towers of the Senatorial palace and joined them by a façade. Nothing remained to be done, except to terminate

[1] The Romans of this time appreciated it under its ancient form. "*Il Campidoglio venerabile anchora più per forma che per vestigio che si vegga della antiquitate*," says M. Alberini, *Il Sacco di Roma*, pub. by Orano, p. 475.

[2] It was in the beginning of the sixteenth century, or rather in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, that the Communal Council of Rome was progressively organised. Composed at first of a few Capitoline magistrates, it ultimately numbered, by the middle of the century, more than fifty members. Its authority, which extended to all questions of edileship and municipal finance, became so great that it did not hesitate to enter into a struggle with the popes, and notably with Sixtus V. The Conservators presided over it, in turn, and were chosen by it.

the inside decoration and the painting. The last years of the century were devoted to this task. On the various representations of the Capitoline palaces drawn during the century, the successive phases of the metamorphosis may be followed.[1]

At the commencement of the century, the Senatorial palace was a structure of a confused sort of architecture, flanked with four towers of unequal size,[2] battlemented, and with a tall campanile rising above it, with large apertures. On the side of Mount Caprino was the ornamental window from which the Senator witnessed executions, as he was in duty bound. Somewhat higher up, were two small windows similarly square. On the front, a broad straight staircase, with its steps rather steep, led to the *loggia*, to the *lovium* situated on the right of the palace close to one of the towers of Boniface IX. This *loggia*, of fine architecture, had two stories : six pillars, two of them being half let into the side walls, supported the entablature of the first story, which was rectangular ; in the second story, six other pillars upheld semicircular vaulted arches. On the left of the *loggia*, which stood back, the façade was pierced with six windows, the three lower of which were longer on one side than on the other ; they had grated bars to them, these lower ones, and perhaps served to let light into the prisons. The three higher windows had cross-bars, and a projecting marble casing round them. These were the windows that were ornamented, as has been said, in the time of Nicholas V. A flight of stairs, supported by three unequal vaulted arches, stood against the façade ; it would seem to have been an unfinished work, since it had no railings, and, on the other hand, had no door as its direct issue. A balcony ran along, above the windows and above the *loggia*, and covered the whole distance between the two towers. In the tower on the left were two rectangular windows, one above the other.

That part of the palace which faced the Forum exhibited a confused mass of incongruous building.

[1] The most interesting representations of the Capitol, for this period, are those of Kock and those of Martin Heemskerck, the latter of whom sojourned in Rome from 1553 to 1556, and worked under the direction of Michael Angelo. His minute accuracy is well known. With reference to Heemskerck's stay in Rome, see G. B. de Rossi, *Panorama circolare di Roma delineato da M. Heemskerck*, Rome, 1892. The view of Rome by Wyngaerde, given in the *Bullettino della Com. Arch. Com. di Roma*, 1900, tav. IV., IX., by the care and with a commentary of Thomas Ashby, junior, shows, for the group of the Capitoline palaces, an almost identical aspect. R. Lanciani has reproduced in the same bulletin, anno XXIII. 1895, p. 81, another plan, existing likewise in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, in the Sunderland volume 171, entitled *Large Prints of Clarendon and Burnet*, vol. IV., topographical. Interesting information will also be found regarding the successive aspects offered by the Capitol in the sixteenth century, in the series of plans published by E. Rocchi, *Le Piante di Roma*, Rome, 1903.

[2] Only two, however, are shown, as a rule, in representations of the period that give a view of the Capitol.

The palace of the Conservators presented a somewhat mean appearance. On the ground floor were arcades, in the first of which was visible the gigantic head of Domitian. In the middle, on either side of the entrance, were the two figures representing rivers, which were, one after the other, in the course of the century, removed to the foot of the staircase in the Senatorial palace.[1] The She-Wolf, given by Sixtus IV., was still above the door, in the centre of the façade.[2] In Pinardo's plan (1555), in that of Fabio Lici (1557), and even in the subsequent plans of Dosio and Cartaro, the palace of the Conservators looks to be a structure of small height and no architecture.

At one of the ends of the declivity extending from the church of S. Maria Aracoeli to the Square stood an obelisk with four crouching lions as its basement.[3] In the vicinity were pillars, here and there, which were destined to disappear when the Square was restored. On one side grew the lofty palm which was long the pride of the Romans, and figures on all representations of the Capitol.

[1] These two groups, the gift of Pope Leo X., seem to belong to the time of the Antonines; they came from the temple of Serapis, situated on the Quirinal. At first it was thought they represented Saturn and Bacchus. In 1513, Fulvio saw them still on the Quirinal, then called Monte Cavallo on account of the statues of the Dioscuri that were there. He took them to be likenesses of the river-gods Achelous and Ister, "*in quorum manibus stat pleno copia cornu.*" See Michaelis, art. quoted, p. 25 *sqq.* It was in 1517 that they were removed to the Capitol, the cost of the transfer, &c., being eighty ducats (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, p. 183). One of the two figures, that which represented the Tigris, had a tiger beside it. This was replaced by a she-wolf, and the figure then received the name of the Tiber, which was more suited to the place it was intended to occupy. The change was made towards the middle of the century. Gamucci still speaks of a tiger in 1565, as also Aldrovandi, who wrote in 1550 (p. 269); Vasari, of a she-wolf, in 1568. Moreover, a text explaining an engraving by Cavalieri mentions the change: "*Antiqua statua Tygridis fluvii marmorea quam recentiores statuarii Tiberi accomodarunt. . . .*" The other group represented the Nile. Michaelis, p. 29, quotes a text of 1529 that seems to prove it was about this date that the removal of the groups in front of the Senatorial palace took place: "*Hoggi amendue questi simulacri si tolgono da questo luogo per riporti davanti al palazio di Campidoglio e ne hanno gia tolto via uno.*" However, Lucio Mauro, who wrote in 1556, says, p. 11: "*Dinanzi la casa de conservatori su la piazza si veggono duo gran simulacri di marmo che sono duo fiumi il Nilo e Tigri o pure la Nera e'l Teverone che amendue col Tevere si congiungono.*" Aldrovandi says: "*A pie del palagio del Campidoglio sono duo gran simulacri marmorei di duo fiumi*; *l'uno è il Nilo . . . l'altro è Tigre. . . . Non mancano già di quelli, che dicono, che queste statue siano de l'Aniene, e della Nera. . . .*" It is known that a statue of the Nile exists at the Vatican, and a statue of the Tiber at the Louvre; both were discovered in the pontificate of Leo X., near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva; they came apparently from the temple of Isis (Helbig, no. 4).

[2] "*Eminet ante fores primoque in limine portae,*" says Andrea Fulvio (1513); "*. . . Pro aedibus conservatorum*" (1527), *ibid.*; "*In frontispicio ipsarum aedium,*" Marliani, in Michaelis, p. 19.

[3] It had long been in this place. Antonio di Pietro speaks of it in the year 1407: "*Vidi Dominum Nicolaum di Ursinis armatum, una cum dicto populo stantem equestrem cum multis aliis de gentibus armorum Pauli de Ursinis, stantem in platea Capitolii ante Guliam dicti Capitolii cum multis luminariis expectantem novam. . . .*" (Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 984).

Kock's plan, which was designed in 1562, shows the Senatorial palace, before it was altered ; but one of the statues has been placed at the foot of the staircase. The palace of the Conservators has already undergone a first transformation ; above the arcades are cross-bar windows surmounted with an entablature ; a third row of windows appears below the roof ; on the extreme left is seen a sort of *loggia*, reminding the spectator of that of the Senatorial palace, and perhaps used also as a tribunal. The statue of Marcus Aurelius figures in the centre of the Square.

In 1505, on the plan by Lafreri, and in the design reproduced by Professor Lanciani, the Senatorial palace has not altogether lost its primitive aspect ; but the *loggia* no longer exists ; the stairs are built ; and a buttress-wall encloses the Square on the side towards the Aracoeli church.

In representations posterior to this period—that of Marcucci, for instance, dated 1625—the Capitol is shown such as it now exists with the three-storied bell-tower which was not built until the closing years of the century. On the right appears the palace of the Conservators in its completed state : and on the left the buttress-wall, at that time ornamented with a niche.

First Period.

In the year 1520, Pietro Squarcialupi,[1] who was the Senator in office, asked permission from the Communal Council to take a number of blocks of travertine found during excavations made round the Arch of Septimus Severus, and to use them for finishing the work he had undertaken, at his own expense, in the *loggia* of the palace of the Conservators. The Conservators gave him the permission, stipulating, however, that the removal of the blocks should be carried out in such a way as not to endanger the stability of the arch. A commission was appointed to superintend the excavations.[2] Squarcialupi, indeed, was a great destroyer of antiquities. He had formed a sort of

[1] Count Pietro Squarcialupi was twice Senator, in 1511–1512 and in 1517–1520. It was during his first magistracy that Pope Julius II., by his Bull, "*Decet Romanum pontificem*," of the 28th of March, 1512 (*Bull. Rom.*, V. 511), increased the forum of the Capitol, that is, the Senator's and Capitoline magistrates' jurisdiction, which was the subject of continual dispute between the people and the papacy. This fact was commemorated by an inscription recently discovered and published with notes by Professor G. Gatti in the *Bull. della Com. Archeol. Comunale di Roma*, an. XXIX., 1901, p. 270.

[2] On the 22nd of Sept., 1520. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 83. Cf. R. Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 248.

partnership with an association of men who were making profit out of the ruins of the City and the Capitoline hill itself.[1]

The work he did, however, was not very important; and the appearance of the palace continued to be almost the same. It was, perhaps, at this time that the tribunal of the Conservators was transferred to the centre of the palace, where it was at the end of the century.

In 1521 and 1522, the palace courtyard was enlarged:[2] but financial difficulties presented themselves. The Council were embarrassed to find the funds needed to pay the architect's bills. The protonotary's office had to be sold; and it was decided that the sums set apart for the restoration of the Pantheon should be employed otherwise than at first intended.[3]

However, even after the embellishments that had just been made, the courtyard of their palace seemed to the Conservators "imperfect and lacking in shape"; now, the jubilee year of 1525 was approaching, during which the affluence of Christians would be, undoubtedly, very great in Rome. It was, therefore, determined that "for the honour of the City," a sum of a hundred crowns should be devoted to rendering the courtyard more decent.[4] However, the sack of Rome took place in 1527; and all the work was interrupted for several years.

In 1523, the creation of a library and archives had been resolved on.[5]

Michael Angelo's Project.

The announcement of the arrival of Charles V. in Rome aroused a feverish desire for demolishing, restoring and building.

[1] Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, p. 195. The Communal Council interfered. An article of the statutes, moreover, prohibited the destruction of ancient edifices, *De Antiquis aedificiis non diruendis*, Bk. II., art. 191, Statutes of 1363; it was renewed in the succeeding statutes. On the 10th of March, 1520, the following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Council: "*Primus conservator . . . exposuit qualiter de auitorum Romanorum gestis in amplitudine edificior. et illor. decore nil aliud hiis presentibus temporibus oculatim videtur nisi ceu diruta palatia, termae, archus, theatra et amphitreata* (*sic*) *ac balnea aquarq. latrine que omnia si Romanor. facultas tanta esset quod restaurari et conservari possint nulli dubium ad ostendendum illorum animi ac potentie vires omnibus qui ex documentis ipsor. notitiam habent et locor. inspectione certiores redderentur. Que omnia pre uiribus inlesa custodiri debent. Qua propositione audita beneq. in huiusmodi senatus consulto cognita per patres ibidem manentes decretu extitit quod si facultas restaurandi Romanis deest a deuastantibus tueantur reiq. dum inueniuntur graui pena puniantur.*" Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 14, fol. 119 and vol. 36, fol. 73. Lanciani, p. 195. Cf. F. Cerasoli, *Usi e Regolamenti per gli Scavi* . . . Rome, 1897.

[2] The payments were made to the "*Magister Dominicus architector qui dilatavit cortile palatii.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I., vol. 36, fol. 104 and 105. Sitting of the 20th of Nov., 1521.

[3] Sitting of the 29th of Oct., 1524. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I., vol. 15, fol. 131. Cf. vol. 36, fol. 188. See also Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, p. 206.

[4] *Ibid.*, Cred. I., vol. 15, fol. 147 and 148.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I., v. 36, f. 139.

The *forum* had been all pulled about, and more than two hundred houses were razed to the ground. Old edifices and churches were destroyed, in order that the Romans might treat the Emperor, who, some twelve years previously, had been the cause of the pitiable sack of the City, to an entry which was worthy of him. It was deemed proper not to leave the Municipal palaces in the dilapidated state they were;[1] and so the Communal Council, desirous of displaying their power, applied to Michael Angelo to transform them.

Michael Angelo, therefore, drew out the plan of a series of alterations by which, while respecting the ancient structures, he proposed to hide these with a regular façade, and to do away with the confusion of towers, *loggias*, corners, stairs and unequal roofs which had grown up, picturesque but lacking unity, during five centuries of change. This plan has been reproduced by Etienne du Pérac.

The project, in particular,[2] united the two corner towers by a façade with square windows. A large double flight of stairs, the parapet of which was adorned with statues, gave access, by means of a *loggia*, to the principal entrance, which opened into the Senator's audience-chamber. The sides were decorated with the allegorical figures of the Nile and the Tiber. In a niche, contrived in the centre, and surrounded with pilasters, was a statue of Jupiter. The flat roof was to have been bordered with a balustrade surmounted by statues, and a one-story campanile rose above the palace.

The façade of the palace of the Conservators was of the same style as that of the Senator's palace; but was less lofty, and had pilasters half let into the walls. The *loggia* remained; the apertures, however, instead of being arcades, had a rectilineal entablature.[3] All the windows of the first story were to be equal, an indication which was not followed, and a balustrade and statues garnished the roof, as in the case of the principal palace. Opposite, and at the foot of the church of S. Maria Aracoeli, would stand a third palace, like that of the Conservators. A staircase, adorned with some of the statues already possessed by the Capitoline Museum, would lead from the Square of the Capitol to the bottom of the hill on the Aracoeli square. At the entrance to the Square, the Dioscuri

[1] It will be seen that, thirty years later, the palaces, although restored, were scarcely habitable.

[2] Description given by Vasari, *Vita de Michelangelo*, Florence, 1881, VII. 222.

[3] The two palaces are not quite at right angles: Burckhardt, *The Cicerone*, Art moderne (in French), p. 246, sees in this slant a skilful design of Michael Angelo. It is rather a happy effect of chance, since the palace of the Conservators existed previously to the time of Michael Angelo, and was simply modified according to his indications. Cf. p. 155.

would occupy the site on which, indeed, they now stand ; only they were to have been placed sideways, not frontways. It should, however, be remarked, that they were not discovered until the pontificate of Pius IV. Perhaps Michael Angelo intended to bring to the Capitol those of the Quirinal, which, as



FIG. 24.—BASEMENT PORTION OF THE TOWER OF MARTIN V.

a matter of fact, are much finer. In the centre of the Square would stand the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.

TOWER CALLED THE TOWER OF MARTIN V.

Before speaking of the execution of this programme, it will be proper to mention certain alterations that were carried out between 1510 and 1545, not very important, it is true, but enabling several magistrates to let in to the tower nearest the church of S. Maria Aracoeli numerous inscriptions, together with their escutcheons. This tower thus became one of the most interesting portions of the Capitoline edifice.

On the right is the escutcheon of the Gualdi family, with two

inscriptions on either side, and another below, recording the names of Galeotto and his son Francesco, both Senators of Rome, Galeotto in 1510, Francesco in 1530.

The inscription on the left reads :

IVLIO. II
PONT. MAX
GALEOTTVS. DE. GVALDIS
VIR PRIMARIVS
ARMINIENSIS
STRENVI. GALEOTTI
MALATESTAE
EX. FILIA. NEPOS
EQVES. COMES
ET VRBIS SENATOR
ANNO. M. DX.

The inscription on the right :

PAVLO. III
REGNANTE
FRANCISCVS GVALDVS
ARMINENSIS
ROMANVS. SENATOR
GALEOTTI. PATRIS
VESTIGIA IMITATVS
VIRTVTES ASSECVTVS
AN. DOM. M. DXXXIX

Below :

SVMNO. PAVLO. III. PONTIFICATV
FRANCISCVS. GVALDVS. ARMINENSIS
SVB EODEM. PONTIFICE. ITERVM. SENATOR
QVOD. EXPERIENTIA. MERVIT. GLORIA. COMPROBAVIT.
M.D. XLIII.[1]

Above, and nearer to the projecting part of the tower, are the armorial bearings of the Senator Nicolo Tolosano, surmounted with an inscription.

NIC. THOLOSANVS COLLE
CI. FLO. V. I. DOC. E. ECO.
SVB. PAV. III. P. M. SENA.
OFF. FVNGEBATVR.
AN 1544 E 1545 E 1546.[2]

Lower down than the first escutcheon already spoken of, and on the left, surrounded with a garland, below which are four small pendentives containing the coats of arms of the three Conservators and the prior of the *caporioni* then in office, is an inscription recording the transformation of the Capitol.

INNOCENT. XII. PON. MAX.
DVM IN ROMAM DE THESAVRO SVO
NOVA ET VETERA PROFERT
ROMA CAPITOLIVM VETVSTATE CONFECTVM
IMPERAT INSTAVRANDVM
VT ANTIQVIS DVM NOVA CONGLVTINAT
TANTO PONTIFICI RESPONDERET
NOVA ET VETERA SERVAVI TIBI
MVTIVS DE MAXIMIS }
LEONARDVS CIOGNIVS } CONS.
LVTIVS SABELLVS }
SCIPIO HIPPOLYTVS DE ROSSI c. R. P.
AN. DOM. M. DC. XCII.[3]

[1] Forcella, I. n 48. The first of the above inscriptions should be compared with the following one, also existing in the Capitol.

IVLIO. II. PONT. MAX. GALEOTTVS DE GVALDIS
NOBILIS ARMINENSIS. V. I. CONS. EQVES ET
COMES VRBIS SENATOR ANNO M.D.X.P.

Forcella, I. n. 35. [2] Forcella, I. n. 49. [3] Forcella, I. n. 191.

Furthur to the left is a group comprising a bass-relief, which represents a profile, supposed to be that of Scipio Africanus and transferred to this spot by the care of Gualdus. Two inscriptions are on the right and left, and one beneath.

On the left:

+ S. P. Q. R.
COMITE SFORTIA
MARESCOTTO
MARCO ANTONIO
CITARELLA
MARCHIONE FABRITIO
NARO
CONSERV.
FLAMINIO PICHIO
CAP. REG. PRIORE

On the right:

+ S. P. Q. R.
IOANNE RINALDO
MONALDENSE
EX DNIS
MONTIS CALVELLI
POP. ROM.
IN PONTIFICAT. INTERR.
COPIARVM
DVCE.

SCIPIONEM AFRICANVM
CVM HISCE TROPHEORVM RELIQVIS
ET PALLADE CONCILIATA
COMITE TRIVMPHATEM AD
CAPITOLIVM IN IMAGINE
HAC VELVTI VMBRA REDVCEM
E MVSEO SVO EXIBVIT
FRANCISCVS GVALDVS ARIMINEN
EQVES S. STEPHANI ANNO CIϽ IϽ CLV [1]

A mask crowns the whole. Somewhat higher, by themselves, on the right, are the armorial bearings of the Senator Giacomo Bovio, with a fleur-de-lis at the top, and an inscription recording his services.

Below:

IACOBO. BOVIO. IVRE CONS. BONO. SENA-
TORIAE MAIESTATIS. MVNERE. LEONE
X. PON. MAX. SEVERE. COMITERQ. INTE-
GERRIME. FVNCTO. S. P. Q. R. VIR.
TVTIS ERGO BENEMERENTI. D. D.
M. D. XIIII.[2]

Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius.

The only portion of the embellishments planned by Michael Angelo which he lived to see completed was the placing, on the Square of the Capitol, of the equestrian statue which up to then had adorned the Square of the Lateran.

The old exclamation of the peasant, "Why don't you move —you know that you are alive,"[3] has been applied to this piece of

[1] Forcella, I. n. 154.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 37.

[3] The exclamation is generally attributed to the painter Pierre de Cortone. M. Moret, *The Picturesque in the Middle Ages* (in French), Paris, 1839, explanation of plate 95.

sculpture. And, indeed, it is one of the most precious antique bronze statues that have survived the cupidity of barbarian invaders, and the hard circumstances of succeeding ages, as also one of the finest works of art that exist. "Every other bronze horse must be the humble servitor of this one," said the President De Brosses.

The legends to which it gave rise were the cause of its preservation. They are of two kinds and quite distinct. The first series, of more popular origin and more naïve, produced the account related by the *Mirabilia*.[1] In the period of the Consuls and Senators, a mighty king arrived in Italy from the east, and attacked the city on the side of the Lateran Gate, pillaging the neighbourhood.[2] He inflicted great losses on the Roman people. Now, it happened that a warrior of tall stature, and as brave as he was skilled, came to the Consuls and Senators, and asked them what reward they would give him, if he delivered them from this scourge. He was told that he might have whatever he desired. "Give me," he said, "thirty thousand sesterces, and promise me, when the war is finished, to perpetuate the remembrance of my victory by a handsome horse in gilded bronze." The promise was made. Then he ordered the Romans to proceed in arms to the city walls, at the approach of night, and to hold themselves in readiness to obey him.

He had remarked that the king came each night to the foot of a tree on which perched a bird that began to sing at the king's arrival.

At eventide, he mounted on a horse, barebacked took a pruning hook, and, as soon as the bird began to warble, advanced to the spot where the king had retired. The people of the royal suite imagined he was one of themselves, but, none the less, called to him to withdraw if he did not desire to be hanged. But he, while pretending to go away, rushed on the king, who was a small man, and carried him off; at the same time shouting to the Romans: "Come forth and cut up the enemy's army, for I have their king." This the Romans did; and the besiegers were routed with great slaughter, and in their camp an important booty was captured.

As they had pledged themselves, the Romans raised to their deliverer a statue that represented him on his horse, without saddle, stretching forth his right hand, with which he had seized the king; while a bird was on his head, and the horse was represented as trampling the hostile king under his feet.[3]

[1] "*Laterani est quidam caballus ereus qui dicitur Constantini. Sed non est ita. . .*" Page 36, line 18 (ed. Parthey).

[2] The *Mirabilia* and the descriptions of this epoch do not say who was this Eastern king; an author of the sixteenth century, Prospettivo Milanese, calls him Asdrubal. See note 3 on p. 134.

[3] See what is said on page 134, note 1.

It is difficult to elucidate the origin of this legend. It may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that if the spectator places himself in front of the horse, the tuft of mane on the animal's forehead has a certain resemblance to a barn-owl. Moreover,



FIG. 25.—STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

primitively, a man was under the horse's hoofs, as is proved by copies made of the group.[1]

But the legend of the "great villain," *il gran villano*,[2] although countenanced and propagated by the extensively read book of

[1] See what is said on the next page in note 1.

[2] Gamucci writes (fol. 20, V.) in 1565: "*Quella famosa statua equestre di Marco Aurelio . . . la quale è chiamata da volgari de nostri tempi il Gran Villano.*" Chevalier Harff, who came to Rome in 1497, speaks thus of the statue (*Die*

the *Mirabilia* and the descriptive works that it engendered, never had the same vogue as that which made the statue out to be that of the Emperor Constantine. It was under the latter denomination that the statue was generally known throughout the Middle Ages, and was reproduced in far-off countries.[1]

However, the statue was spoken of by many other names. In the deliberations of the Lateran Chapter, it is designated under the name of Antony's statue.[2] Poggio, who lived in the time of Eugenius IV., calls it the statue of Septimus Severus.[3] Nicholas Muffel of Nuremberg, who came to Rome in 1452, in the suite of the Emperor Frederick V., mixes up the two versions and asserts the statue to be that of "a villain named Septimus Severus."[4] Those who had pretensions to learning thought differently. "*Peregrini Theodoricum vocant, vulgus Constantinum sed Clerici Curiae Marcum seu Quintum Curtium appellant*," says Gregorius Magister in a book of *Mirabilia*, a few

Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff . . . Cologne, 1860; translation of De Reumont, in the *Archiv. Veneto*, vol. XI., part I. 1876, p. 134): "*Sulla piazza* (of St. John Lateran) *davanti alla chiesa sta eretta una statua equestre di bronzo quale fù posta a un contadino divenuto capitano a Roma, che liberò la città dai nemici imitando il suono del cuculo, di che si misero altamente a ridere gli assediante.*"

1 Arbellot, *Pamphlet on the equestrian statues of Constantine placed in the churches of the West of France* (in French), Limoges, Paris, 1885. In these reproductions, the captive is seen under the horse's hoofs, as mentioned in the *Mirabilia*. They spread the opinion that the original statue was in marble. Richard of Poictiers wrote, in 1293, in his *Complainte*,

Constantine cades equo de marmore facto
Et lapis erectus et multa palatia Romae.

Richard the Poictevin, art. of Berger in the *Library of the French Schools of Athens and Rome*, VI. (1879), p. 2. Cf. A. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria*, II. 112.

2 Galletti, *Cod. Vat.*, 8039; deliberation of the 15th of Aug., 1498 (see further on); Marcus Aurelius was surnamed *Antoninus*, which may have created the confusion. However, in a deliberation dated 20 Oct. of the same year, we read: "*Statua Aureliani vulgariter Constantiniana.*" *Ibid.*, 8036, fol. 257.—In the deliberation of the Communal Council which ratified the removal of the statue to the Square of the Capitol, it is designated under the name: "Statue of M. Antony." Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 36, pl. 379.

3 *De Varietate Fortunae*, ed. Giorgi, p. 21.

4 Nicolaus Muffels, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, herausgegeben von* Wilhelm Vogt, Tübingen, 1876. This confusion was still made by some authors in the sixteenth century Prospettivo Milanese, in his *Antiquarie Prospettiche romane*, writes, in 1500:

Evi di Constantino vn gran ronzone
Staui quel grande chucise Asdrubello.
Sono ambedui di gran perfectione.

Atti Accad. Lincei, Ser. II. vol. III. part III. p. 51, and Gilberto Govi, Rome, 1376, who publishes the text with comments.—Gamucci, *Le Antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1569, writes, p. 16: "*Nel centro della piazza di Campidoglio la famosa statua equestre di Marco Aurelio.*" Aldrovandi, *Le Statue di Roma*, p. 268, says: "*Nel mezzo della piazza del Campidoglio si vide la bella statua equestre di bronzo di M. Aurelio filosofo et Imperatore: e sta in habito e gesto di paceficatore, Dicono, ch' ella fosse di Antonio Pio; altri di L. Vero; altri di Septimio Severo. . . .*

fragments only of which have been preserved by the English monk, Ralph Higden.[1]

However, the common opinion was that the statue represented the Emperor Constantine;[2] and this was why it received universal admiration. It was made to play a part in every solemnity. When the tribune Cola di Rienzo gave a magnificent fête to the Roman people, on his being consecrated a knight, an ingenious artifice, the mystery of which no one could fathom, enabled wine and water to flow from the horse's nostrils. A mantle of vair, with which the horse was covered, apparently helped the illusion.[3] Indeed, it was the custom, in the Middle Ages, for those who wished to be popular in Rome, to offer a mantle to the horse. In the *Roman de Rou*, Wace relates that Robert I., Duke of Normandy, did this:

Saw Constantine in Rome display'd	Costentin uit, ki ert à Rome
In manly shape, of copper made,	De quiure fait, en guise de home,
Of copper is the horse also,	Cheval a de quiure ensement,
No wind nor rain them overthrow.	Ne muet pur pluie ne pur uent.
Such is the fame and the honour	Pur la hautece e pur la honur
Of Constantine the Emperor,	De Costentin l'empereur,
To whom the image stands upright	En ki nun l'image est leuee
And whose the name is that it hight,	E par ki nun est appelee,
He had it with a mantle clad,	La fist d'un mantel afubler
The richest one that can be had.	Del plus riche qu'il peut trouer.[4]

The fate of the city was considered to depend on that of the horse. This belief was still current when Ampère visited Rome. A child, showing him the traces of gilt that were visible on the statue, told him they were increasing. "When the statue is gilded all over," he said, "the world will perish." However, in 1636, the Senator Orazio Albani had been obliged to issue an order forbidding stones or mud to be thrown at it.[5]

The statue is said to have first stood in the *Area* of the Forum, where, according to Father Thédenat, traces of the

[1] De Rossi, *Piante di Roma*, p. 77; cf. Adinolfi, *Laterano e Via Maggiore*, p. 71; Jordan, *Topog.*, II. 370, 385; Stevenson, *Annali dell' Istituto Arch.*, 1877, p. 375; Tizzani, *Atti dell' Accad. Rom. di Archeologia*, nuova seria, I. 241.

[2] Martinelli, *Roma ricercata*, p. 795, who wrote in the seventeenth century, says: "*Nel mezzo della piazza il famoso cavallo di metallo caualcato da Marco Aurelio Antonino secondo alcuni, e secundo altri da L. Vero, se bene molti han creduto, come testifica il Fulvio, esser di L. Settim Seuero; ma è chiamato dal volgo e dal Bibliotecario di Constantino perchè staua su la piazza del Palazzo Lateranense.*" Cf. Gamucci. See p. 138, note 1. Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), III. 179, reproduces orders to pay, relating to the restoration of this statue, which show that it was commonly known under this denomination. See further on, p. 139, note 1.

[3] *Cron. Mutinense*; Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XV. 608.

[4] Ed. Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877, II. 152, v. 3051.

[5] "*Che nessuno abbia ardire tirare sassi, fanga o simili materie nel Cavallo di bronzo esistente in detta piazza, sotto le medesime pene. Datum Rome ex nostro Capitolio, hac die* 10 *Aprilis*, 1636. *Horatio Albani Senatore.*" Casanatense Library, Collez. Bandi, vol. VI. no. 171.

base on which it stood may be seen.[1] Later, it was transported to the site it occupied, for a long time, in front of the Lateran church.[2] We read that, when the Antipope Boniface (974) was murdered, his body was cast at the feet of the horse, in the "*campum ante caballum Constantini*," terms which, to tell the truth, may apply just as well to the *campus lateranensis* as to the *campo vaccino*.[3] Some years previously (966), the corpse of Pietro, prefect of Rome in the time of John XIII., had been tied to it by the hair.[4]

It has, however, been maintained that the statue in question once adorned the palace of Annius Verus, which was near the Lateran, and in which Marcus Aurelius lived for a long while, and that it had never figured on the Forum, since it seemed difficult to admit that, between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so famous a statue could have been removed from the foot of the Capitol to the Lateran, without any mention being made of the fact.[5]

Some have thought the removal of the statue had been effected at a comparatively recent date. What may have fostered the belief is that passage of the Ferrara biographer of Clement III. which says that this Pope enlarged the Lateran palace, and had a golden horse made to decorate its façade.[6] In his Bolognese chronicle, Fra Bartolommeo della Pugliola repeats the assertion, and specifies that the horse was in bronze.[7] The reference, therefore, must be to the horse of Marcus Aurelius, which Clement III. had, no doubt, ordered to be repaired.[8]

The statue was badly in need of repairs, if we may judge by a reproduction existing, among other Renascence bronzes, in the royal Dresden museum. It is attributed to Antonio Averlino,

[1] Henry Thédenat, *The Roman Forum* (in French), Paris, 1904, pp. 167, 286; Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedific.*, cap. 2; Palladio, *Archit.*, Book IV. c. IX. See also Stevenson's article, *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico*, 1877, p. 373; *Antichi Edifizi al Laterano*. Fea mentions an itinerary in which the *Templum Pacis* and the *Caballus Constantini* are spoken of together. In the Einsidlensian itinerary (eighth century), the *Cavallus Constantini* is placed near the Arch of Septimus Severus (*Codex Urbis Romae*, Urlichs, p. 71). Cf. Vacca, n. 18.

[2] According to A. Graf, II. III. it was Pope Sergius III. (903–911) who probably ordered the removal. Cf. Adinolfi, *Roma nell' Età di Mezzo*, I. 250.

[3] Muratori, *Annales*, V. 262; Gregorovius, II. 74; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, II. 254.

[4] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, III[2]. 331.

[5] *Storie delle Arti del Disegno* di Giovanni Winkelmann, transla ion much corrected and augmented by Abbé Fea, Rome, 1784, III. 411. Winkelmann's work, *Geschichte der Kunst*, had appeared at Dresden in 1764. The removal of so heavy a group must, in fact, have been very troublesome. It was accomplished only with great difficulty in the sixteenth century.

[6] "*Equum quoque aureum fieri fecit.*" Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, IX. 178. Yet the text given by the *Liber Pontificalis* says merely: "*Puteum ante ereum equum fecit fieri.*" Life of M. Polonius, II. 451.

[7] Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XVIII. 246.

[8] This Pope reigned from 1187 to 1191.

says Filarete, who worked in the time of Eugenius IV.;[1] this reproduction, therefore, indicates the probable aspect of the statue before the repairs made to it, in the pontificates of Paul II. and Sixtus IV., which were the first that we have any certain knowledge of.[2] It may be that the deteriorations noticeable are peculiar to Filarete's copy; but, on the one hand,

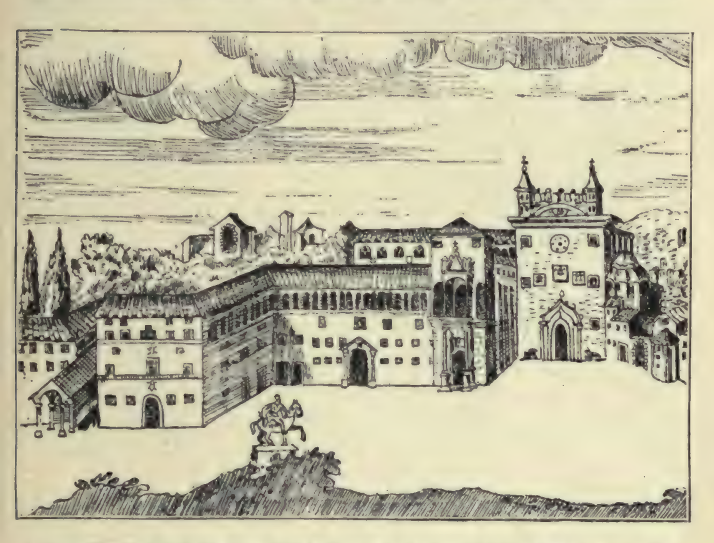


FIG. 26.—THE HORSE OF MARCUS AURELIUS IN FRONT OF THE LATERAN. (CIAMPINI, *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis:* Rome, 1693, III. 17, pl. 5.)

it is said, in a document of the year 1474, that the group was "*vetustate quassatum et collabentem*";[3] on the other hand, the

[1] It was made by order of the Pope and offered to Peter de Medici, in 1465, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1885, 4th quarterly number, p. 271, communication of M. Courajod on Filarete. See Courajod, *Certain Bronze Sculptures of Filarete* (in French), Paris, 1886.

[2] In the work of G. Rohault de Fleury, *The Lateran in the Middle Ages* (in French), plate L., the statue of Marcus Aurelius is shown on the socle it occupied at the Lateran. Into this socle are let the armorial bearings of Pope Boniface VIII., Gaetani (1294–1303), which might lead one to suppose that this pontiff or some one of his family undertook to restore it, or to restore the statue.

[3] Cancellieri, *Solenni possessi*, p. 198. The text reads as a whole: "*Equum aeneum vetustate quassatum et jam collabentem cum fessore Marco Aurelio Antonino restituit, quem ante aedem Constantinianae Basilicae cernimus.*" Life

high price of the repairs shows that they must, in fact, have been very important. One is therefore entitled to suppose that, at the time, the right foot and left hind leg of the horse were wanting. However, Filarete certainly added, in front of the horse's legs, a high-crested helmet ornamented with bass-reliefs that had some resemblance to the subjects of classical antiquity. On one side is a centaur carrying off a woman; on the other, two men wrestling; on the visor is a ram's head. The background from which the figures stand out is engine-turned or rather hammered.[1]

The horse is asserted, but wrongly, it would seem, to have been cast into a bog, from which Sixtus IV. had it taken out.[2]

Paul II., the Venetian Pope, who had such a passion for art, undertook to restore this statue so unfortunately injured. As early as the second year of his reign, in 1466, he gave orders for the work to be begun; but, at the time, all that was done was to erect round the statue a big plank shed, which cost very dear. However, in 1468, three hundred florins were paid to the celebrated medal-engraver Cristoforo Geremia of Mantua, described in the payment order as a "familiar of the Pope," and, indeed, sufficiently esteemed by the latter to be given rooms in the Vatican.[3] It was the successor of Paul II., Pope

of Pope Sixtus IV., by an anonymous writer that Muratori thinks to have been Platina. Muratori, *R. Italic Script.*, III². 1064. Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes*, III. 177, quotes on the authority of Albertini an inscription which seems to be the transcription of this passage: "*Syxtus IIII Pont. Max. equum hunc aeneum vetustate quassatum collabentem cum assessore restituit*"; and he is astonished that Forcella does not mention it. The reason is, perhaps, that he gave no credence to Albertini. The latter composed, in 1509, his minor work of the *De Mirabilibus* (ed. of 1515, fol. 62).

[1] Courajod, art. quoted; Gio. Batta. De Rossi and Giuseppe Gatti, in the *Bull. Arch. Com.*, an. 1886, p. 348. The inscription on the socle of this reproduction states that the statue is the one of the Emperor Constantine. It is well known that the father and the son were very like each other; and scholars of the time of Eugenius IV. may have allowed themselves to be deceived by their incomplete iconographic knowledge. In a song composed in 1467, to celebrate the transfer of the porphyry urn containing the remains of St. Constantia from the mausoleum in which they lay, in the Via Nomentana, to the palace that Paul II. had just had built on St. Mark's Square, it is said:

Commodus et sonipes hostilia vulnera passi
Pontificis tantum reficiuntur ope.

See the *Gazette archéologique*, 1885, p. 382, and the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1885, p. 275; art of M. Courajod.

[2] At least, the text of Onuphrius, which is in Platina, *Historia de Vitis Pontificum*, Cologne, 1626, p. 331, reads: "*Marci Aurelij statuam aeneam equestrem humili et sordido loco iacentem in area Lateranensi augustiore loco exposuit.*" Cf. Flaminio Vacca, who asserts that the statue was found in a vineyard near the Scala Santa; *Memorie*, n. XVII. Cf. Fea, *op. cit.*, p. 414, and, by the same author, *Discorso intorno alle belle Arti*, Rome, 1797, p. xi, and *Nuova Descrizione . . .* Rome, 1818, p. 183.

[3] In the margin: "*Pro restauratione equi aerei S. Jo. Lateranensis.*" In the text: "*Marcus etc., honorabili viro Andree Blasij etc., solvatis honl. viro Cristoforo de Gieremiis de Mantua Ssmi. D. N. pp. familiari fl. au. de Cam. trecentos pro parte solutionis ejus laborerii et aliarum expensarum pro restauratione equi erei siti in platea sancti Johannis Lateranensis oportunarum,*

Sixtus IV., who completed the work. He had recourse to goldsmiths, and had to pay them important sums. A new pedestal was also made for the statue. The Pope wished it to be of marble.[1]

A picture has preserved for us the appearance of this statue, after its restoration. It is that which the artist Filippo Lippi painted, in 1486, in the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas, belonging to the Minerva church, and which gives a view of the Lateran of that epoch.[2]



FIG. 27.—STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS IN FRONT OF THE LATERAN. (FRESCO OF FILIPPO LIPPI, CHURCH OF MINERVA.)

A statue so famous and so beautiful, and whose fate was so closely connected with the history of Rome, might claim its place in the Capitol. This, undoubtedly, was why Michael Angelo chose it as the central subject of the new decoration he had conceived, and why also, in that respect, his plan was executed without delay.

Nevertheless, the Lateran Chapter did their best not to lose their treasure. Having met a first time on the 28th of November, 1537, they appointed delegates who were to go and beg the Pope not to sanction the removal of the statue:[3] these delegates were not received. Then the Chapter

quos etc. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Marcum sub signeti nostri impressione die XXV Junij MCCCCLXVIII. Pontif. SS. D. N. Pauli div. prov. pp. II, anno quarto." (*Archiv. di Stato*, Mandati Cam. Urbis, 1464–73, fol. 66.)

1 "*Solvatis ho. vir. Magistro Nardo Corbolini et Leonardo Guidocci ci. ro. aurifabris quibus data est cura sarciendi equum eneum Constantini ante palatium Lateranense existentem fl. au. de cam. C in deductionem mercedis ipsis promisse pro illo opere*" (3 July, 1473).—On the 11th of Dec., 1473, another payment of 200 ducats *pro refectione equi Constantini.* On the 24th of April, 1474, payment of 100 ducats. On the 15th of Nov., as balance, payment of 200 ducats. On the 24th of Dec. of the same year 1474, payment of 75 ducats to a stonemason "*pro parte operis quod facturus est in basi novi marmorea equi Constantini.*" *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corresp. Arch.*, an. 1867, p. 189, art. of A. von. Zahn; E. Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes*, 1879–1882, III. 176. Documents extracted from the *Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Camer., vol. 38, fol. 103, 126, 194, 200. It was probably after this work that the inscription quoted by Albertini was put on the pedestal. Cf art. of A. von Zahn, *Bull. dell' Inst. Archeol.*, 186, p. 189.

2 Masetti, *Notizie della chiesa Minerva*, p. 35.

3 "*Qui exorent suam S. ne equus aeneus videlicet M. Aurelius Antoninus e platea Lateran. amoveatur.*" Vincenzo Tizzoni, *La Statua equestre di Marco Aurelio*, p. 34.

met again on the 9th of January, 1538, all the more alarmed as the material required for the transport of the group had just been brought to the spot. They renewed their protest, with still more emphasis but equal lack of success.[1] The statue was taken away, and was transferred to the site it now occupies.

The Communal Council bore part of the expense incurred, as was only just (1538).[2]

In order to find a pedestal for this colossal group, one of the most massive blocks of stone that was contained in Trajan's forum had to be extracted from it.[3]

Some restoration of the statue was effected in 1836, under the direction of Thorwaldsen and Valadier, with the aid of the founder, Giuseppe Spagna.[4]

The horse of Constantine had its special guardian. Mention is made of him in Muziano's Commentary of the sixteenth century. In 1615, the Conservators appointed as life-guardians Ascanio Pirotti and his son, the preceding guardian having renounced all his rights and emoluments.[5]

Raphael and Donatello are said to have been inspired by this group, in which the horseman's fine bearing allowed them to overlook the lack of unity in the animal's movements. The one utilised it for the fiery palfrey mounted by his Gattamelata of Padua; the other modelled from it the milder nag that carries the Pope St. Leo, in the Vatican fresco.[6]

The Completion of the Square.

Before proceeding with the execution of Michael Angelo's design, measures had to be taken to prevent the palace from falling in. The rooms used for dispensing justice were so little

[1] The Chapter had succeeded, in 1498, in preventing a first attempt at its removal. On the 28th of Oct., they had delegated four of their members to go to the Cardinal of Lisbon (Giorgio Costa), the Cardinal of S. Croce, the Conservators, and the *caporioni*, and "deplore the compulsory flight of the horse and the statue of Constantine"; "*ut deplorent fugam coactam Equi et statuam . . . Constantinianam et supplicare dignentur intercedere ap. S. D. N. uti retineat.*" Vincenzo Tizzoni, *La Statua equestre di Marco Aurelio*, p. 34.

[2] Deliberation dated the 22nd of March, 1538. "*Quod dicta summa* (the amount is not indicated) *erogari debeat in reformatione statue M. Antonii in platea Capitolii secundum judicium Michaelis Angeli sculptoris.*" (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 36, fol. 379.) The reference is to fines inflicted on the inhabitants of Cori. (R. Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 231.)

[3] Vacca, *Memorie*, II. 18. Martinelli, *Roma ricercata*, p. 78, says the pedestal came from Trajan's Thermae. An inscription was engraved on it (Forcella, I. n. 44).

[4] *Diario di Roma*, 1836, n. 26.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XI. vol 19, fol. 68. For general information as to the history of this statue, reference may be had to Vincenzo Tizzoni, *La Statua di Marco Aurelio descritta ed illustrata*, with engravings, anonymous, Rome, 1838, which is in the Casanatense Library, Miscell., 8vo, vol. 963, 2,

[6] Fea, p. 183, and Maurice Paléologue, *Rome*, Paris, 1903, p. 42. Marcus Aurelius is similarly represented in the bass-reliefs mentioned on p. 202.

habitable that one magistrate, who had been called from Foligno to fill the high office of first assessor to the Senator, refused to sit, having previously sent his son to inspect the premises. The Council, in consequence, were compelled to undertake the work of restoration (1542).[1] But the pecuniary resources of the Communal treasury were hardly sufficient to keep things in repair. In 1537, the proceeds accruing from the sale of various offices, which amounted to fifteen hundred crowns, had, as a matter of necessity, been exclusively applied to this task, the losers being the pensioners of the City, *porzionari*, who usually received a sum of a thousand crowns out of these funds. A few Councillors protested ; but there was no alternative.[2]

In 1541, the Council authorised the Conservators to sell eight claims on the Bologna official pawn-establishment, for seven hundred and fifty crowns, which were devoted to repairing expenses.

Obliged, through want of funds, to limit their operations, the Communal Council contented themselves, for the time being, with carrying out only that part of Michael Angelo's design which dealt with the embellishment of the Square. Giacomo della Porta[3] was the architect chosen for the task. The Council did their utmost to second him, and regularly appointed commissaries to superintend and hasten the progress of the work.[4] Moreover, whenever the Councillors made any difficulties about giving funds, the Holy See interfered and forced their hand. Thus, in 1543, the Conservators received the order,

[1] Council meeting of July 8, 1542. Cred. I. vol. 17, fol. 84.

[2] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 17, fol. 46, 47. Sitting of 23 Oct., 1537. And *Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Cam. 1537–1541, fol. 34, 15 Sept., 1537 : "*Solvatis Sc. V et Julios 8 a Maestro Benedetto de Pisis fabro lignario pro reparatione palatii Capitolii de commissione Dni. Cesaris de Nobilibus, preteriti Senatoris, in cubiculo quod habitat. D. Franciscus de Sessa Notarius Maleficiorum.*" Other payment orders of little importance follow. "*Mro Jacobo bononien. ; muratori scut. auri triginta sex et bol. 93½ de Jul. X pro quolibet scuto pro residuo sui laborerii et pro tot operibus factis in reparatione palatii senatus vestri capitolini, 23 Feb., 1537.*" Payment order addressed to the *Magnifico domino alme Urbis senatori.* On the 20th of March following, payment of another sum of 36 crowns 98½ bol. for the same purpose. (Mand. Camerali, 1534–1557, quoted by Müntz, *The Antiquities*, p. 154.) Sitting of 22 Sept., 1537. It was decided that the proceeds of the sale of every office should be devoted, for a whole year, to the improvement of the Capitol. Sitting of the 23rd of October. The *Magistri Viarum* offered to make a gift of all the Tiburtine stone blocks they had at their disposal. Sitting of the 26th of Oct. Marius Macaonius was elected clerk of the works at a salary of fifteen crowns a month. Mutio Muto announced that he had collected many fines in the Cori district (depending on the Commune of Rome) ; fifty crowns remained to be paid. The total sum would then amount to 240 crowns, which would be spent on the Capitol. May, 1538. Several offices remaining to be sold, and several bidders coming forward, it was decided that the offices should be put up to auction, and the proceeds devoted to carrying on the work, with the people's consent. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 36, fol. 360–379, and vol. 17, fol. 50.

[3] Giacomo della Porta, born in 1530, died in 1590, was a pupil of Vignola. About this time, he built the churches of S. Louis of the French and S. Maria de Monte. He finished the cupola of St. Peter's with the help of Fontana.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 17, fol. 76, vol. 36, fol. 409 and 430 ; for the year 1555, fol. 802.

under threat of the severest penalties, to pay over to the *magistri stratarum*, entrusted with the repairing of roads, the sum of six hundred crowns, deducted from the wine duties, in view of the construction of the *Via Capitolina*, which should give access to the Capitol.[1]

Already, some time before, the various expropriations necessary had begun, if not the constructive work properly so called. In 1480, a sum of one hundred and twenty ducats was paid to Giovanni Pietro de Spiritibus as compensation for his house, which it had been necessary to pull down.[2] In the pontificate of Paul III., the levelling of a mound was undertaken, the soil of which was thrown on to the slope of the hill facing the Aracoeli square, so that the houses on that side were almost buried, and suffered serious damage. As compensation, each owner had to be paid two hundred crowns.[3] Elsewhere, the façade of the Muzio de Mettis palace was demolished, to make room for a suitable issue of the descent on the *Via Torre dei Specchi*.[4] The house was subsequently pulled down altogether.[5]

The building of the great stairs, designed to give access to the Square of the Capitol, was the object of great competition. Numerous architects had sent in plans. Two were selected from them, those of Martino Lunghi and Giacomo della Porta. The latter's design had the advantage, said the judge of the competition, of arranging for the concealment of certain places less deserving of prominence on the Capitoline Mount, and of being so cleverly combined that the obliquity of the staircase would not be perceived.[6] The levelling of the Square was next proceeded with again (1577).[7]

1 "*Mandatum Conservatoribus quod solvi faciant Magistris stratarum Urbis sc.* 600." (*Arch. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Camer., V. 139, fol. 63.) The S. Maria bridge or *Ponte Rotto* had been much damaged at the time of the overflowing of the Tiber in 1530 (Oct.). In 1557, it was again partially carried away; at present, there remains only one arch, strengthened in 1575 by Gregory XIII. See M. Carcani, *Il Tevere e le sue inondazione*, Rome, 1875.

2 *Arch. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Cam., vol. 47, fol. 117. "*Assignamentum pro Johanne Petro de Spiritibus.*"

3 "*Supplica di Michele Marzocco ai Conservatore del* 29 *9ber*, 1583." Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 20.

4 Petition of Muzio to obtain the compensation promised him. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 15, an. 1587.

5 The credit was voted, Oct. 15, 1561, by 84 to 13. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 21, fol. 125 and 120.

6 Undated letter to the Conservators by Paulo del Bufalo, deputed for the construction of the staircase. (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 24.) "*Con la tondezza sua leva quelli pisciatori e conigliere che sono di qua e di la dalla presente scala, si vede dalla piazza degli Altieri* (at present *del Gesù*), *et con la tondezza non apparisce che la scala non sia in squadro, et per molte altre ragioni che empierebbero il foglio. . . .*" The People's Gate is likewise due to the co-operation of Michael Angelo and Giacomo della Porta. See Burckhardt, II. 243.

7 Council meeting of the 27th of November, 1577. "*De platea capitolina*

At the same time, measures were taken to complete its decoration. Paul III. (1533-1550) had commissioned Vignola to build the portico and repair the steps leading to the Aracoeli church;[1] and Julius III. (1550-1555) had the other portico built, and steps to match on the side facing Mount Caprino.[2] Pius IV. pursued the completion of the double balustrade bordering the Square, on the side from which it commands the City; and was responsible for the placing, on either hand of the entrance to the great staircase, of the two lions or sphinxes of basalt found near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.[3]



FIG. 28.—VIGNOLA'S PORTICO. STEPS LEADING TO THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA ARACOELI.

The Councillors were compelled to impose fresh sacrifices on the City. In 1561, Pope Pius IV. gave them peremptory orders to deduct twelve hundred crowns from the

deprimenda." Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 164. Meeting of 26 Aug., 1578. "*Super platea Capitolina deprimenda.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 209.

[1] Montagnani, *Il Museo Capitolino*, I. 37. Above the arcades of the portico, in the spaces between the columns, Pope Julius III. had his coat of arms engraven, the three Mounts, as Paul III. had had his engraven on the opposite portico.

[2] Lanciani, article on the *Monte Tarpeio*, in the *Bull. della Com. Archeol. Com.*, XXIX. an. 1901, p. 268. Cf. Cod. Vat. Ottob., 3152, fol. 220. The two sphinxes have been replaced by reproductions, and put inside the new palace (courtyard), n. 2, 3, in 1885. Fam. Vacca, n. 27; Fea, p. 180; Montagnani, II. 88.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 21, fol. 125.

wine duties, half of which was to be paid to the *maestri di strada*, in order that they might compensate the owners of the houses that had been pulled down, on the Aracoeli Square; the other half was to be devoted to completing this Square. The Councillors yielded, not without protesting that the duties in question belonged to the people, and were the people's "property" (13th of October, 1561).[1]

This concession cost them dearer than they had imagined; for the Pope, coming, some short time after, to ascertain for himself what progress was being made in the work, with the money supplied, happened to notice that the roof of the Senatorial palace was in such a wretched state that the rain entered through it. The audience-chambers were unfit for occupation, doubtless because the repairs, resolved on in 1542, had not been effected. He, consequently, imposed a fresh charge of between eight hundred and a thousand crowns, according to requirements, for the necessary work to be done.[2] This sum was to be taken, as usual, from the wine duties, otherwise called *gabella dello studio*.[3]

Compensations became more frequent. Luzio Boccabella obtained two hundred crowns, in order to bring into line with the others the house he owned on the Capitol, no doubt along the road leading to it.[4] Expropriations, indeed, continued till the end of the century. In 1595, a thousand crowns had to be paid to Tommaso Filippucci, as the price of several houses demolished, to allow of the widening of the *Via Capitolina*, or rather the *Strada di Campidoglio*, as it began to be called from that time in official documents. The amount of the indemnity was to be charged on the dues collected at the Latin Gate.[5]

The divers corporations that possessed a hall for their consular tribunals at the Capitol contributed to the expense. Now and again, the pontifical authority intervened to exonerate them from this burden; as, for instance, in 1564, when the painters' guild pleaded poverty,[6] and the goldsmiths' guild claimed exemption as having no tribunal at the Capitol.[7] Although having no business in the Capitol, the Jewish community also

[1] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 21, fol. 133.

[2] The name *gabella dello studio* was given to the tax on foreign wines, because a portion of what it yielded was devoted to the payment of professors at the University.

[3] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 21, fol. 197.

[4] The work had been begun in 1538; expropriations took place then. *Archiv. di Stato*, Atti. Stef. de Amannis, Prot., 96, fol. 301.

[5] *Arch. di Stato*, Mand. Camer., 1594–1596, fol. 71.

[6] *Inhibitio in Curia pro Consule et Universitate pictorum Urbis. Dat. Rome in Cam. Ap. Die* 19 *Martij*, 1564. *G. As. Card. Cam.*

[7] *Inhibitio in Curia pro Consulibus aurificum. Dat. Rome in Cam. Ap. Die* 28 *Augusti*, 1564. *G. Asc. Card. Camerarius.* (*Arch. S. Vat.*, Div. Camer., vol. 217, fol. 15, 19.

paid their share, which must have been considerable, since an instalment of a hundred crowns was only a fraction of their contributions.[1]

In 1583, Gregory XIII. gave instructions which led to the placing on the balustrade of the Square, to the right and the left of the staircase, of the two groups of the Dioscuri,



FIG. 29.—VIGNOLA'S PORTICO. STEPS LEADING TO THE MONTE TARPEIO.

which had been found near the Ghetto, under the pontificate of Pope Pius IV., some twenty years before, and had been restored by Valsoldi.[2]

The balustrade bordering the Square, on the side opposite the

[1] *Significatio. G. Asc. Camerarius. Dat. Rome in Cam. Ap. Die XVI. 10bris,* 1540. *Asc. Card. Camerarius.* (*Ibid.*, vol. 119, fol. 36.)

[2] Montagnani, Mirabili, Pietro Paolo, *Il Museo Capitolino*, Rome, 1828; Vacca, n. 52; Michaelis, pp. 33, 44. They were found at the spot where the new synagogue was being built. Inscriptions were put on the pedestals supporting them: Forcella, I. n. 78, n. 251, n. 105.

Senatorial palace, was completed about 1592.[1] Thither had been brought, in 1590, the trophies, said to be those of Marius, which still figure there, to the right and the left of the groups of Castor and Pollux.[2] They had been taken from the "Castle of the Acqua Marcia," as well as other ornaments, so that nothing else remained, except some vestiges of the foundations, which the Marquis Orazio Savelli, who owned a neighbouring villa on the Esquilian, called Palombara,[3] asked permission to remove.[4] Two commissaries were appointed, as was usual in such cases, to examine the request.[5]

At the end of the balustrade, on the right, stood the milestone which once marked the first mile on the Appian Way, where it had been discovered in 1583. Another milestone, which had been found further on, serves to match it at the opposite end of the balustrade. A bronze ball surmounted it; and tradition asserted that it was the one which the statue of the Emperor Trajan, placed at the top of his column, held in his hand. It was believed to contain his ashes.[6] At present, there are no balls on either of the columns.[7]

The two statues of Constantine and his son Constans, which are visible between the trophies and the columns, were not set in this place until 1653. They had previously stood on the steps leading from the Square of the Capitol to the church of S. Maria Aracoeli.[8] The base of the Emperor's statue still exists with his name engraven on one of the sides. The third statue, representing the second son of Constantine, which was first of all placed in the Museum, was, as will be seen, subsequently sent to the Lateran.[9]

The obelisk still existed in 1566; but it had been brought nearer to the Square.[10] Then it was overthrown. "*Super coemeterio iacet obeliscus aegyptius hieroglyphis insignitus.*"[11] This, no doubt, was why the Communal Council resolved to

1 This balustrade had been begun under Gregory XIII. (1572–1585).

2 The inscription placed under the trophies is found in Forcella, I. n. 90.

3 Cancellieri, *Il Discobolo*, p. 42.

4 Sitting of the 19th of Sept., 1592. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 90.

5 Sitting of the 22nd of Sept., 1592. *Ibid.*, fol. 52.

6 Vasi, I. 53. See p. 204 and Michaelis, *Coll. Capit.*, note 184. Cf. H. Dessau, *Intorno la Colona Milliaria del Campidoglio*, Rome, 1882.

7 Inscriptions were placed on the base of the first column. Forcella, I. n. 81, n. 82.

8 Sitting of the Communal Council of the 23rd June, 1653. There were 28 crowns paid for the work. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. I. fol. 138. Inscriptions placed on the socles of the statues: Forcella, I. n. 102, n. 150. See further, p. 214.

9 See p. 214.

10 "*Obeliscum circa Aracoeli monasterium ad ornandum plateam transtulerunt jusso suo*" (of Pope Paul III.). Silvagio, *De trib. Pereg.*, p. 306. Cf. L. Mauro, p. 8. The entrance to the monastery was altered about this time. Camillo Re, p. 114.

11 Boissard, I. 46; Michaelis, p. 31. Below the church was a small cemetery.

hand it over to Ciriaco Mattei, who asked for it[1] and transported it to his villa, the Mattei Villa, situated on the Caelian hill.[2] The marble pillars which were also found in the neighbourhood, and



FIG. 30.—THE DIOSCURI. CEREMONY OF THE BLESSING OF THE BAMBINO.

which appear in Heemskerck's reproductions, were successively given either to the church of S. Maria dei Monti, which the

[1] Sitting of the 11th of Sept., 1582. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 118 ; cf. fol. 120.

[2] Cancellieri, *Il Mercato*, p. 164 ; C. Maes, *Curiosità romanè*, 1885, I. 89.

Pope was having built in the Monti quarter,[1] or to the Consolation hospital.[2]

In 1592, it was decided that the new road having its issue in the Square, the *strada Capitolina*, should be paved, at the expense of the owners of property on the river-bank and of the people.[3]

The triangular space between the two staircases, that of the Aracoeli and that of the Capitol, remained for a long time a sort of rubbish heap, as in the days of Giacomo della Porta. It was transformed into a garden only in 1818,[4] and was, at a posterior date, adorned with a poor statue of Cola di Rienzo by Mazini and a cage containing a she-wolf.

To-day, a carriage-road, constructed in the pontificate of Pope Innocent XII. (1691–1700), leads, with four windings, to the Square of the Capitol. It bears the name of the *Via delle Tre Pile*, on account of the three "Pignates" that figured in this Pope's coat of arms,[5] and which are seen on a pillar at the second turn in the road.

Completion of the two Palaces.

About 1560, owing to the energy and efforts of Boccapaduli,[6] one of the members of the Council, a beginning was made towards the realisation of Michael Angelo's plan as regarded

[1] Communal Council meeting of the 1st of March, 1582. "*De columnis marmoreis in platea Capitolina existentibus Ecclesiae B. Mariae in Regione Montium gratis concessis pro ornamento porte ipsius Ecclesiae.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 103. The first stone of this church was laid, on the 23rd of June, 1580, by Cardinal Sirleto. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 205.

[2] Sitting of the 27th Aug., 1584. *Ibid.*, fol. 241.

[3] Sitting of the 15th of Oct., 1592. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 55. In 1595, the Council obtained, by pledging the dues collected at the Latin Gate and St. Sebastian's Gate, the sum of a thousand ducats, which they needed, in order to expropriate Tommaso Filipucci, the owner of some houses whose demolition was required for widening the road. *Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Camer., 1594–1596, fol. 74.

[4] *Notizie del Giorno*, 8 April, 1818.

[5] The Pot or Pignate is an heraldic figure representing a ewer of small size, with a handle at the side.

[6] Bicci, *Notizie particolari della Famiglia Boccapaduli*, Rome, 1762. Prospero Boccapaduli had been engaged in the work at the Capitol since 1555; but only in 1564 did he become the official superintendent. In the following year, the Pope appointed him Governor of Ravenna; but he remained only a short time in this post; and came back to Rome, to take up his task again there (Bicci, pp. 114, 129). Thus, the following inscription was subsequently put in the palace: "S.P.Q.R. MAIORVM SVORVM PRAESTANTIAE VT ANIMO SIC RE QVANTVM LICVIT IMITATVS DEFORMATVM INIVRIA TEMPORVM CAPITOLIVM RESTITVIT, PROSPERO BVCCAPADVLIO, THOMA CAVALERIO CVRATORIBVS, ANNO POST VRBEM CONDITAM CXↃ CXↃ CCCXX." Forcella gives the same text, I. n. 64. This inscription is found at the entrance to the palace of the Conservators; close to it was placed another, which is, so to speak, the counterpart. Forcella, I. n. 65. Cf. Bicci p. 132, and *Travels of a Frenchman in Italy* (in French), IV. 248.

the Senatorial palace and that of the Conservators.[1] From the year 1563, the payments made by the Communal treasury were already so important that Pope Pius IV. had to let the Communal Council take three thousand crowns from the wine-tax for the building of the palace of the Conservators, and eight hundred from it for the building of the Senatorial palace.[2] In order that Michael Angelo's indications might be followed concerning the statues that were to ornament the roof of the palace, as well as for other reasons which will be seen, Pope Pius V. presented the Council with more than thirty statues chosen from among those that his predecessor, Pius IV., had collected in the Vatican.[3] Gregory XIII., who had filled the office of first assessor at the Capitol, showed much zeal in the work. In 1573, the *loggia* of the palace of the Conservators was decorated with a marble tablet covered with bass-reliefs. It came from the Sciarra palace, and a hundred crowns had been exacted for the right to take it out of the wall in which it was set.[4]

The impetus given to the work on the Capitoline palaces may be explained, as has already been hinted, by a political reason. The Communal Council were acquiring more and more influence in the municipal organisation of the City. They held regular sittings, and intervened in all municipal matters. Just at that time, they had entered on a struggle with the Holy See, regarding the self-government of the City. They were, consequently, interested in asserting their authority by getting themselves an imposing edifice for their deliberations.

The value of the work accomplished between September, 1575, and January, 1576, that is, in five months, amounted to 1,768 crowns. An architrave in travertine was put round the gate leading to the prisons, a mask over a door, a boarded floor in the new room of the first assessor. There was carpentry and masonry: and both outside and inside, therefore, great activity was being manifested in the work.[5] Yet in 1577, Pope Gregory XIII. exempted the Senator in office, Galeazzo Poggio, from the deduction effected in his salary, according to the statutes, for the keeping of the palace in order.[6] The Councillors were obliged to impose sacrifices on themselves.

[1] The transformation was especially on the outside. The arrangement of the rooms remained almost the same, since the frescoes, painted in the early part of the century by Rimpata, are still in existence. See p. 155.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 21, fol. 227, Feb. 26th, 1563.

[3] However, they were some of them placed inside, in the Museum then in process of formation. See chapter dealing with the Museums.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 456.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 26 *sqq.*

[6] Brief dated the 23rd of Feb., 1577. *Arch. Seg. Vat.*, Arm. XLII. vol. 29, n. 46. It abrogated article 5 of the first book of the statutes of 1523, which renewed a previous prescription.

Those who arrived late at the meeting had a fine inflicted on them ; and the amount of all such fines was devoted to the restoration of the Capitol. Similarly, the proceeds of fines inflicted by the Capitoline judges, and those exacted from magistrates that neglected to be present at religious ceremonies, were ordered to be applied, partly to the expenses incurred on the palace and partly to charitable purposes.[1]

Every week, the Commissaries came and reported to the Council on the progress of the work, which was still being pushed on.[2] In 1577, more than seven thousand crowns were spent. The Council grew alarmed. They believed that they were being deceived. To the two architects entrusted with the oversight of the new constructions, Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi, they added a third, Annibale Lippi, who was commissioned to examine, in conjunction with the first two, the accounts of the builder, who, on his side, appealed for the interference of the consuls of his art, the art of those that hewed stone.[3]

During the following years, the chief thing aimed at by the Council was the transformation of the bell-tower. Michael Angelo's design had made it somewhat small in height. They raised it to three stories.[4] On the 23rd of July, 1578, the scribe of the Senate posted up a notice informing the builders of the City that he had in his possession the plans of the architect Martino Lunghi, whose design had appeared preferable to those of the other competitors ; and he invited them to come and see the plans with a view to making tenders.[5] Operations were forthwith commenced ; and they continued till 1580. At that date, the Council were at a loss to know how to find money for completing the undertaking. According to their custom, they appointed two commissaries to get them out of their difficulty.[6] The name of Pope Gregory XIII. was engraven at the top of the bell-tower, on its four sides, where it is still visible.

1 Decision of the Communal Council, dated May 24th, 1570, confirmed by the statutes of 1580, article 4 of Bk. III. In general, the proceeds of the fines were devoted to some work interesting the judges that had to judge the offence committed. Here is an example : "*Rev. D. Ascanio Parisano Epo. Ariminensi D. M. Thesaurario . . . Mandamus quatenus per manus Dni. Ansaldi de Grimaldis . . . de pecuniis penarum maleficiorum curie Capitolii numeres magistro Benedicto de Pisis fabro lignario scutos quinque et julios octo ei debitos pro opere per eum impenso in reparatione Palatii Capitolii de commissione Caesaris de Nobilibus praeteriti Urbis Senatoris in cubiculo quod habitat Franciscus de Sessa Notarius Maleficiorum. Die* XV *9bris* 1537." Archiv. di Stato, Mand. Camer., 1537–1541, fol. 34.

2 Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 46, 52, 104. The registers do not indicate what was the issue of this affair.

4 Resolution of the Council tending to the reconstruction of the Tower. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 181.

5 Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 144. Dimensions of the notice : 0 m. 30 c. by 0 m. 20 c. See Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 45.

6 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 17.

To commemorate the construction of this campanile, three types of medals were struck by order of the Roman people, which were intended for the reigning Pope, Gregory XIII. On the first, which shows the front also, the bell-tower has only two stories ; no bell is visible, and a single statue is placed at the top. The second and third are different only by the legend ; the one reproduced bears on the exergue : "S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI" ; and across : "ANN. DNI. MDLXXIX." The last words are wanting on the other type. Both, however, show an imaginary bell-tower, four stories high, two of which are, perhaps, the front to the right of the bell-tower. In the aperture of the two top stories, bells are visible. At the summit are four statues.[1] The reverse of the three medals is the same : Gregory XIII. in the act of blessing.





FIG. 31.—MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE ERECTION OF THE CAMPANILE OR BELL-TOWER.

At the same time, the construction of the double stairs was proceeded with, which were to give access to the audience-chambers. This work was

[1] Ph. Bonnani, *Numismata Pontificum*, Rome, 1689, I. 350, speaks of these medals, which he has figured under the numbers 43, 45, 46. It would seem that there was never more than one statue at the top of the tower, although in the *Cod. Vat. Urb.* 1053, under date of the 24th of Aug., 1585, we read that Pope Sixtus V. had the statues taken away "that ornamented the top of the campanile, since it did not seem proper to him that these idolatrous representations should be placed above the bells."

completed in 1582. The Conservators then in office placed in the niche that had been built at the foot a statue of Minerva which was taken from the courtyard of their palace. An inscription recorded this event. It read :

S. P. Q. R.
SIGNVM MINERVE DE PARIETIMIS VRBIS ERVTVM ET IN CAPITOLIVM PAVLO III P. M. TRANSLATVM IN ILLVSTRIORE AREAE LOCO GREGORIO (*sic*) XIII P. M. POSVIT ET RESTITVIT.
CVRANTIBVS
OCT. GVIDOCTO, JO. BAPTA. ALTOVITO, OCT. PARTICAPPA, CONSS.
ALFONSO AVILA PRIORE CAP. REG.[1]

The Conservators who succeeded these in office tried to remove the statue, because their names were not in the inscription. The question was submitted to the Pope, who decided that the statue should remain in its place.[2] In 1595, a smaller statue replaced the Minerva. It likewise represented Minerva, but was given the name of Rome. It is composed of red basalt.[3] Its state of preservation could not have been very good ; for, in 1653, one of its arms had to be repaired, and two fingers on one hand had to be renovated. Later, the nose and the other arm had to be renovated ;[4] then, almost the whole of the body.[5] The following inscription may be read below it :

S. P. Q. R.
VRBIS ROMÆ SIMVLACRVM
PVBLICA PECVNIA REDEMPTVM
IN CAPITOLIVM TRANSTVLIT
ATQ. LOCO ILLVSTRIORE COLLOCATVM
CLEMENTE VIII P. M.
GABRIELLE CÆSARINO
JACOBO RVBEO
PAPIRIO ALBERO
COSS.
CELSO CELSO CAPITVM REG. PRIORE[6]

It was not until the year 1588 that the decoration of the staircase was completed by the construction of the fountain and basin that appear below the statue, between the two representations of the river. Sixtus V. had sent the Communal Council

[1] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 18. Forcella, I. 71. See p. 205.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 19. The statue previously bore an inscription recording the name of the Bonaventura family, which had possessed it, and that of the Conservators who had acquired it for the Roman people. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 187. Cf. Helbig, I. 292, and Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 75.

[3] Michaelis, *La Coll. Capit. Bull. Arch. Germ.*, an. VI. 48. Cf. Fea, p. 205, and Tofanelli, p. 104.

[4] On the 23rd July, 1653, to the stone-cutter of the Roman people, Domenico Mancini : "*Per avere restaurato il braccio della statua di Roma che sta sopra la fontana sotto alle scale del palazzo di Campidoglio che era in quattro pezzi, e rifatti due diti alla mano sc.* 5:00." Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. I. fol. 147. As regards the second repairing : "*Conto dello Scarpellino Antonio Ferretti. Per avere riattaccato un dito ed anche il bastone che tiene in mano alla statua sotto lo scalone nobile di Campidoglio, ed avergli stuccato il naso, sc.* 1:10." *Ibid.*, 13, fol. 399.

[5] It was again restored in the time of Benedict XIV. See further on, pp. 183 and 215.

[6] Forcella, *Isc.*, I. n. 96.

the design drawn by the architect Matteo di Castello. The discussion that arose over its adoption became so lively that it was decided the matter should be referred to the public Council. On the one hand, certain Councillors deemed that, before erecting a fountain, it was advisable to ascertain whether water could be obtained for it. On the other hand, there was hesitation in rejecting a proposal emanating from the Holy See, and plans that the Pope had personally approved. In the public Council, the same perplexity existed. Most of those present withdrew, when the Senator proposed a vote, in terms that reserved the rights of the pontifical power.[1] This solution softened the temper of those who opposed the project; and the erection of the fountain was voted by thirty-five to twenty.[2]



FIG. 32.—MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE ERECTION OF THE CAMPANILE.

The transformation of the Senatorial palace was completed under the pontificate of Clement VIII. (1592–1605), who had the plans of Giacomo della Porta executed by the architect

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 22. Cf. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 74.

[2] *Ibid.* Water was not laid on till much later. In 1612, Pope Paul V. granted the Commune two hundred ounces of water; and the Council voted a credit of two hundred crowns for the conduits. But it was only in 1619 that water was brought to the fountain. At that time, the old cistern of the palace of the Conservators was demolished, which has been mentioned in speaking of the repairs made to it. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 32; Cred. VI. vol. 51, fol. 73. The water was the *Acqua Felice*. Fea, p. 184; cf. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 74.

Girolamo Rinaldi. The two corner towers were reduced to the height of the palace, and were hidden by a decorated façade which united them in one architectural design. The windows of the first story, which were too narrow, were widened; the balcony above them was removed; and the battlements of the summit disappeared, and were replaced by a balustrade adorned with statues. On the side towards the Aracoeli church, large windows were made in the first story.[1] An inscription placed on the façade, the coats of arms of the Pope and those of the Senator Lodovico Arca, with the date 1593 engraven on the side wall of the palace, recorded these various achievements.[2] At the same time, no doubt, was built the high façade, with but little character in it, which rises above the Tabularium, on the side towards the Forum; and, also, all that part of the edifice, quite distinct from the rest, which is comprised between the tower of Boniface IX. and that of Nicholas V.

The palace of the Conservators was likewise completed under the direction of the architect Giovanni del Duca, who kept to the plans of Michael Angelo, except in the central window of the palace, which he made larger than the others. He has been bitterly reproached with this deviation; and, indeed, it is an unfortunate one. It would be, in fact, inexplicable if we did not know that the audience-chamber of the Conservators received its light through this window, and that, probably, a desire to increase its light-giving capacity, and to mark the position of the hall from the outside, was the motive that induced him to break the unity of the front.[3]

Clement VIII. was ambitious to carry furthur the realisation of Michael Angelo's designs, and to build the third palace, which, in his intention, was to be the complement of the palace of the Conservators. The Communal Council were authorised to borrow fifty-five share claims on the State pawn establishment, the interest of which would be covered by the *gabella dello studio* (wine-tax), the condition of the authorisation being that they should set about the work forthwith. Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli and Orazio del Buffalo were appointed Superintendent Commissaries, and it was even stipulated that their appointment should last as long as the work.[4]

But, in the meanwhile, Clement VIII. died, and the building of the new palace was stopped. As yet, only the foundation parts had been constructed.

[1] Michaelis, *La Coll. Capit.*, *Bull. Arch. Germ.*, an. VI., p. 48; Montagnani, *Il Museo Capitol.*, p. 40.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 95.

[3] It was the same architect who placed such an outlandish lantern on the Sangallo church in Trajan's Square. See Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone*, II. 246, B.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 31, fol. 99, 101.

It was, as will be seen, Innocent X. who carried the task through to its completion.

Hall and Throne of the Senator.

Gregory XIII. had entirely restored the Senatorial audience-chamber. It was in his day, no doubt, and under the Popes succeeding him, that this hall assumed the imposing appearance it presents to-day. On the lintel of the marble doors, at each end, are engraven, on the one hand, the name of Sixtus V.; on the other, that of Paul V. The pillars ornamenting the principal door were half let into the wall. Subsequently, the walls had set in them fragments of frescoes found, as it has already been said, in the basement portion of the palace, and the painting of the Madonna, which previously figured above the door of the Senator's chamber. This hall occupies the whole length of the front.[1] The Senator's throne, which was repaired somewhat later, was a marble seat, placed on an estrade, also in marble, with three steps composing it. A little lower were two seats for the Conservators. These were of marble and were joined by a marble band; both of them were supported by marble pedestals edged with a carved cyma. Canopies, borne by marble pillars of the Ionic order, were above the seats of the Senator and the Conservators. The tester was of wood covered with red damask.[2]

Interior Decoration of the Palace of the Conservators.

Some of the paintings decorating the rooms of the palace of the Conservators are anterior to the sixteenth century, which proves, as has been mentioned, that the inside arrangement was only partially altered at the time of the great changes that have been related.[3] When Bembo visited the Capitol, in 1504, he was shown, in this palace, several frescoes of Giacomo Ripanda, which he admired.[4] They probably represented the "*Triumph*

[1] Council meeting of July 15th, 1576: "*De Sala Senatoribus perficienda.*" Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 53. Cf. Montagnani, *Il Museo Capit.*, t. I, 37, and G. Christ. Adler, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Altona, 1781, p. 289.

[2] *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 27.

[3] For general information see Tofanelli, Agostino, *Indicazione delle sculture e pitture* . . . 1834, and Fea, p. 228.

[4] "*Capitolium collem adivimus inibique quae digna notatu viderimus haec sunt: Domus Conservatorum picturis Jacobi Rimpatae opere absolutissimis referta.* . . ." Müntz, *The Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French), p. 34. Cf. the document published by R. Lanciani (*Il Codice Barberiniano*), dating back to the pontificate

of a king of Persia"—perhaps that of Cyrus—and the "*Firmness of Brutus in seeing the heads of his sons cut off.*"[1] Some frescoes are likewise attributed to Benedetto Bonfilii of Perugia, who was born in 1420 and died in 1496.[2]

However, the interior decoration of the palace of the Conservators was not undertaken, in earnest, till about the end of the sixteenth century. In 1588, a contract was signed by the painter Tommaso di Marino Laureti,[3] who engaged himself to represent on the walls of the second hall, called the hall of the Emperors, where the Conservators held their audiences, four "great historical scenes," the subject of which was to be furnished him by the Conservators themselves. He promised also to frame them and to paint, beneath, an imitation bronze cornice, together with chiaroscuro ornaments descending to the floor. Laureti asked four years to finish his task; and fixed the price of it at two thousand gold crowns.[4] He had also promised to undertake all expenses of putting up scaffolding and effecting other preparatory work. Now, as his salary was successively reduced by the various magistrates and he had to wait for the perquisites offered to him, when the contract was signed, as a supplement to the price agreed on, he was soon compelled to solicit public charity.[5] Indeed, the Communal assembly were so accustomed to behave parsimoniously to the artists who were led to work for the Roman people, being tempted by the desire of glory, that necessity often drove these latter to appeal to the people's beneficence, and even to their pity. Such was the case of the sculptor Taddeo Landini, who had been commissioned

of Sixtus V.: "*In questa prima sala dei Conservatori hanno lasciato, nel renovare, quattro quadri depinti nelle facciate a tempo d'Alessandro VI. che ci son l'armi, hora che risarciscono il Campidoglio, anzi lo rifanno.*" *Arch. della Soc. Rom. di S. Patria*, vol. VI. (1883), p. 223 and following. R. Lanciani, *Il Codice Barberiniano*, XXX. 89.

1 Malvasia, *C. Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna, 1674, I. 34. According to Siret, *Dictionary of Painters* (in French), p. 204, Ripanda was born in 1480; he was still in Rome in 1510. Malvasia adds that these frescoes are the only ones remaining of all those he painted in the Capitol. Volterrano speaks of him apropos of the designs he took of the bass-reliefs on the column of Trajan. *Commentariorum Urbanorum* Raphaelis (Maffei) Volterrani, Basle, 1530. *Anthropologia*, Bk. XXI. p. 247. "*Floret nunc Romae Jacobus Bononiensis, qui Trajani Columnae picturas omnis ordine delineavit, magnaque omnium admiratione, magnoque periculo circum machinis scandendo.*" Volterrano died in 1522.

2 Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 75.

3 He had been called from Bologna to Rome by Pope Gregory XIII., who commissioned him to paint Constantine's hall at the Vatican; this work was accomplished only under the pontificate of Sixtus V. He taught perspective at the Academy of St. Luke. The date of his birth is unknown. The only thing certain is that he died at the age of eighty, before the commencement of the eighteenth century. Baglione, *Vite die Pittori*, p. 68.

4 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 200. Each magistracy lasted three months.

5 *Supplicatio dni. Thomae Laureti pictoris.* Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 10.

to execute a statue of Sixtus V., and who, on the 16th of June, 1587, addressed an urgent supplication to the Council. The price fixed upon for his statue was thirteen hundred crowns.[1]

In 1592, Laureti had not yet been able to finish his work. The Council appointed deputies with a view to their hastening him.[2] It was not, however, until three years later, in 1595, that



FIG. 33.—THE CAPITOLINE PALACES. FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE CABINET OF PRINTS.

the painter could place them definitely in possession of the decorated room. As a reward, he was given three hundred crowns.[3]

While this undertaking was going on, in 1593, the Council had adopted another, viz., the decoration of the first hall. This

[1] See p. 172.

[2] "... *Qui omni conatu curent totam secundam aulam Palatii quam celerrime per D. Thomam pictorem pingi, perfici et finiri.*" Sitting of the 18th of Dec., 1592. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 163.

time they were lavish in precautions. A committee of ten members, comprising the two chancellors, was appointed to superintend the operations and to make constant reports to the assembly, without ever itself deciding anything.[1] The result was that nothing was done. Two years after, in 1595, they were still seeking for an "exquisite, first-rate, and excellent" painter who should be equally acceptable to Conservators, *caporioni*, chancellors, and deputies.[2] There was no further time to be lost. Joseph or Josephin of Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari, called the Chevalier of Arpino) was chosen to do the painting of the hall, for the sum of five thousand crowns, and with the express stipulation that it should be finished in the course of the year 1599.[3] The marble tablets, the inscriptions along the walls were to be taken away; as to the plate on which was inscribed the prohibition to raise statues to princes before their death, it was to be placed above the entrance door.[4]

In a subsequent meeting, the Council, considering that, "if the greatness of Rome was created solely by arms, there had never been, on the other hand, a nation more religious or more attached to religion," decided that it would be a proper thing to represent by the side of deeds of warlike kings, such as Romulus and Tullus Hostilius, the introduction of sacerdotal rites by King Numa, the appointment of vestal virgins, and other matters relating to divine worship. The following were the instructions given to the painter as to the division, arrangement, and parcelling out of his work. In the first picture, placed at the further end of the saloon, above the statue of Leo X., he should represent the She-Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus ; in the second, above the aperture, the foundation of Rome ; in the third, the rape of the Sabines ; in the fourth, the fight of the Sabines in the Forum, together with the intervention of Ersilia ;[5] in the fifth, above the statue of Pope Sixtus V., the inauguration of public worship by Numa ; in the sixth, the fight of the Horatii ; in the seventh, the defeat of the Veians and the Fidenates, which secured Rome's greatness ; in the eighth, the expulsion of the last king, after the death of Lucretius.[6] The *Birth of Romulus* and the *Battle against the*

1 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 74, 76. Sittings of the 6th and 11th of March, 1593.

2 *Ibid.*, fol. 117. Sitting of the 3rd of Nov., 1595.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 177. The Chevalier of Arpino was born in this town in 1560 ; he died in Rome in 1640.

4 See the chapters, Honorific Statues, pp. 171 and 188.

5 Ersilia or Fersilia. "*Mulier Sabina quae cum aliis rapta. immo marito sublata, erat enim nupta, facta est Romuli uxor, de cujus stirpe fuit Julius, ac post Romuli mortem et ipsa Dea est nuncupata nomine Ora vel Hora.*" Forcellini, Aegidii, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, vol. IX. See Ovid, *Met.*, Book XIV. v. 829–851.

6 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 186.

Veians are the best of these paintings. It was, in fact, by these that the Chevalier of Arpino began the decoration of the hall. Afterwards, being compelled to divide his attention by other tasks which Pope Clement VIII. commissioned him to execute, among these, the painting of pictures for the Lateran palace, he neglected his undertaking at the Capitol.[1] In 1606, the Council called on him to terminate his work there within a year, and to give security for its being so accomplished;[2] but the threat produced no result, so that, in the meeting held on the 23rd of June, 1608, deputies were bidden to go and insist on the Chevalier's duly fulfilling his contract. He had grown tired of it, and was pursuing it but very slowly. In 1613, it was decided that the hall should be opened to the public in its unfinished condition. Subsequently, the Council renewed their remonstrances with the Chevalier to induce him to resume his task; but all was in vain. The scaffolding put up at his expense was even taken away in 1619. In 1638, the Pope was appealed to, with similar lack of success; and the artist died without completing his work.

Recapitulating, the wall paintings that decorate the palace of the Conservators are the following:

Hall of the Conservators (large oblong saloon)—Fresco by the Chevalier of Arpino.

First antechamber (square saloon)—Frescoes by Tommaso Laureti, representing Aulus Postumius at Lake Regillus, Brutus condemning his sons to death, Cocles on the Sublician bridge, Porsenna.

Second antechamber (formerly the room of the She-Wolf)—Frescoes by Daniel de Volterra (?) representing the Triumph of Marius,[3] Ripanda's Brutus. In this room is also a picture representing S. Francesca Romana.

Third antechamber (hall of the Fasti)—Fresco attributed to Benedetto Bonfilii of Perugia.

Audience-chamber (hall of the Geese)—Fresco representing the Olympian Games. Author unknown.

Hall of the Throne—Episode in the life of Scipio Africanus, by Annibal Carrachio.

Last hall—Episodes of the Punic wars, Perugino (?).[4]

[1] Baglione, *Le Vite dei Pittori*, Naples, 1733, p. 255. Baglione was a contemporary of the Chevalier's. It was the Chevalier who designed some of the triumphal arches mentioned on the occasion of the installation of the Popes.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 31, fol. 147.

[3] Vasi (Nibby), *Itinerary of Rome* (in French), I. 82. Panciroli, *Roma Moderna*, 1707, p. 572, attributes it to Pierino del Vaga; but Vasari makes no mention of this fact in his biography of Vaga (t. V. 567–632).

[4] A. Tofanelli, p. 140. Cf. Rufini, *Description of Rome* (in French), p. 49, and Pietro Rossini, *Il Mercurio errante*, p. 15.

THE PRISONS OF THE CAPITOL IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, there were heretics almost constantly in the prisons of the Capitol: four in 1426,[1] seven and eight in 1427, five in February, 1428, and three in September. In 1429, a sorceress was among the prisoners. She, it seems, was the first woman imprisoned in the Capitol on the charge of witchcraft.

Most of the prisoners, however, were insolvent debtors, which was natural, since the Capitoline tribunals were chiefly occupied with civil jurisdiction, from the fifteenth century.[2] The registers of visitors, sent by the Holy See, very often mention prisoners of this category, and nearly always by way of ordering their release. Such benevolent interference had been exercised of old. In the year 1408, the Pope ordered the release of those confined for fiscal debts, and, in 1431, Pope Eugenius IV. showed the same indulgence towards two Roman citizens, Silvestro Paloni and Antonio Saffi.[3] Later, visits increased, and releases became more frequent, being extended even to criminals against the common law. Either on the coronation of a Pope, or to solemnise Christmas festivities, or as a simple measure of clemency, the Holy See set prisoners at liberty.[4] Sometimes the visitors commuted the imprisonment into the penalty of flogging;[5] sometimes they ordered a release on

[1] "*Solvi faciatis provido viro Thome de Viturclano suprastanti carcerum Cancellarie Capitolii Urbis Flor. VIII de bon. L pro floreno expensis quatuor hereticorum unius mensis*" (3 July, 1426). (Mand. Camer., an. 1426–1427, fol. 4; cf. fol. 17.)

[2] They were commoners, builders, dealers, as well as nobles; in 1612, noblemen belonging to the highest families in Rome, such as Giovanni Cesi, Lorenzo Minali, Gaspare de Cavalieri, were confined for debt. See, for the seventeenth century, *Bibl. Vat.*, Cod. Barber., LIII. 123, a list of prisoners for debt detained in the Capitol.

[3] "*Johanni Francisco de Panciaticis senatori Urbis, ut nonnullos propter publica debita in carceribus Capitolinis et alibi detenti libertati restituat.*" (Theiner, *Cod. diplom. S. Sedis*, III. 150.) *Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, *Reg.*, vol. 371, fol. 72.

[4] *Solvatis infrascriptis duobus creditoribus Angeli de Nursia quotidie in carceribus Capitolii pro debito in totum Fl. au. de Cam. XLI debitorum debere suis creditoribus detenti et in die coronationis D. Nri. (Pius II.) de mandato S. Sis liberati et relaxati, videlicet: Albina Panicola aut honli viro Zacharia de Perleonibus de Urbe pro ea recipienti flor. au. I bon. XL* (31 Oct., 1460). (Mand. Camer., an. 1458–1460, fol. 175.) *Bernardinus de Parma in honorem festivitatis Dni. Nri. remiserunt* (*sic* in the thought of the scribe, the reference is to *visitatores*) *ei penam gratiose ut relaxaretur* (22 Dec., 1537). *Brunetta ebrea, attenta pace, relaxetur* (12 Oct., 1547). *Lucretia curialis* (courtesan) *liberetur gratis in honorem festivitatis sub comminatione fustigationis si de cetero commiserit similia* (21 Dec., 1553). (*Archiv. di Stato*, Archivio criminale, Visite alle Carcere, vol. I. and foll. Cf. Bertolotti, *Le Prigione di Roma*, Rome, 1890.)

[5] *Mauritius Romanus, fustigatus per Urbem, relaxetur* (30 Mar., 1538). *Vicentius de Reate fustigetur per Urbem et relaxetur. Marcus Antonius de Asculo fustigetur per aulam et relaxetur* (*ibid.*).

bail.[1] It also happened that the Pope would forbid the incarceration of prisoners for debt, in the Capitol, during certain periods, or else the incarceration for debts of small amount.[2]

Thus, the number of those confined was never very considerable. In 1529, there were nineteen ; in 1551, twenty-one ; in 1552, thirty-six ; in 1560, sixty.[3]

In 1530, a French cook was among the prisoners ; in 1535, a doctor.

A chaplain officiated in the prison. In 1473, his five months' salary amounted to seven florins.[4]

In 1424, the Communal Council, under whose authority the Capitoline prisons were, resolved that the maintenance and guard of the prisoners should be farmed out from year to year.[5] The fact that the lessees were both inhabitants of Vitorchiano seems to indicate they had been chosen from among the *fedeli*, the private guard of the Capitoline magistrates, all the men of which had to be natives of this city. The difference between the cost of maintenance for those imprisoned on account of debt and the sums exacted from those that were the creditors constituted their profit. On the other hand, they were paid for the execution of certain orders of which they had the oversight, such as the flogging of Jews and hangings, even when these took place outside the Capitol.[6]

In the year 1486, Francesco di Tozo was confined in the Capitol, for debt, which did not hinder the Holy See, soon after,

[1] *Dns. Johannes Paulus Mocantius prestita cautione de solvendo sc. L quolibet anno de semestri in semestri ratam partem . . . relaxetur* (Registers of Visits, Visit of 21 Mar., 1602, vol. XIII.). *Dominicus De Matteis Romanus, data cautione de satisfaciendo creditoribus pro quibus detinetur vel fuit arrestatus . . . relaxetur* (20 June, 1602).

[2] *Decretum quod debitores de cetero non possint tradi carceres nisi excedat summam minus ducat. auri* (Visit of 20 Nov., 1528). *Dni. visitatores decreverunt quod ab hac die usque ad diem primum proximi mensis Januarii* 1557 *nullus capi, carcerari aut detineri possit pro debito civili et vigore mandati executivi cuiusvis Curie sub pena nullitatis ipsius capture et quod captus statim gratis ubique debeat relaxari et decem Duc. capsule elemosine s. Leonardi applicand.* (23 Dec., 1550). *Nullus pro debito civili realiter nec personaliter molestetur hinc et per totam octavam Pascalis Resurrectionis* (1 Feb., 1590). (Same authority, vol. I., V., IX.)

[3] Same authority ; cf. Scanarolus, *De Visitatione Carcer.*, Rome, 1655.

[4] Mand. Camer., an. 1472–1476, fol. 130.

[5] *Venditio Cancellarie Capitolii Conservatores Camere Urbis vice et nomine Camere Urbis pro commodo et utilitate eiusdem . . . ac mandato Dni. Nri. pp. oraculo vive vocis facto venderunt, dederunt et concesserunt Thomasio Antonelli de Viturclano et Petro Paulo de Melone de Viturclano et heredibus. . . . Cancellariam Palatii Capitolii ac fructus, redditus et proventus dicte Cancellarie pro uno anno incipiendo die prima octobris . . . pro pretio et nomine pretii XL flor.* (*Archiv. di Stato*, Reg. Cam. Capit., an. 1421–1425, fol. 284.)

[6] *Duc. XVII Marcello de Alberinis custodi carcerum Curie Capitolii pro nonnullis expensis per eum factis Bernardino de Interamne suspenso in Campo-flore, Francisco de Salerno per decretum visitatorum carcerum, Luce mercatoir Neapolitano suspenso in Capitolio et quibusdam hebreis fustigatis* (1 Feb., 1531). (Mand. Camer., an. 1530–1534, fol. 33.)

from assigning to one of his family, if not to him, the farming of the jail.[1] It became, in a manner, the property of the family. By a Brief dated the 17th of January, 1519, Pope Leo X. granted the keeper's office to Marcello Alberini, one of Tozo's descendants, and to Marcello's brother, Orazio. When the latter died, Marcello obtained sole possession. But when, in 1527, after the sack of Rome, he attempted to resume his duties, he found that a Spaniard, named Alvarez, had seized on the office, under cover of the prevailing disorder,[2] and, perhaps, with the connivance of the Communal Council, who profited by the opportunity to assert their prerogatives.[3] Being energetic, in spite of his sixteen years, he none the less succeeded in driving out the Spaniard. He had a keeper *pro forma*, who allowed one of the prisoners, a youth of eighteen, to hang himself with a silk girdle. The Conservators made grave remonstrances ; and Marcello, preferring to have less profit and more tranquillity, sub-let his lease for nine crowns a month, reserving for himself the gratuities of the prisoners that were liberated on the 15th of August.[4] The rent was, no doubt, too high, for the sub-lessees annulled their contract. Then Alberini made a bargain with some other lessees, at the rate of eight crowns a month,[5] but the latter were so lax in their surveillance that a chemist escaped (1529). In consequence, Alberini was held to be responsible, and was himself confined. Luckily for him, he was chosen by lot, two months after, to fill the office of provost of the mounted police, which procured him his release (September, 1529). He was not long even before obtaining redintegration in his former functions, being, in addition, created prisoners' notary. Two years later, on the 2nd of January, 1532, all his prisoners succeeded in escaping, by making a breach in the wall two yards thick. For this, he was summoned, together with Fioravante, the Captain of the Capitol, before the Senator's tribunal, which condemned him to be imprisoned. His release

[1] Scanarolus, *De Visitatione Carcer.*, p. 25.

[2] Domenico Orano, *Il Sacco di Roma*, vol. I., *I recordi di Marcello Alberini*, pp. 306–307.

[3] The statutes of 1519–1523, confirming previous ones, edicted (Bk. III., art. 86) that the prisons should depend exclusively on the Conservators and not on the Senator, and they fixed (Bk. III., art. 99) the keepers' remuneration : "*Pro expensis faciendis Carceratis, in Carceribus secretis detentis, habeat Commentariensis sive Carcerarius Carolinum unum pro prandis et tantum pro coena.*' . . *Nec liceat Carcerario a carceratis relaxandis ultra duos Carlenos pro Carcere vel Custodia . . . petere vel exigere.*" The statutes of 1580 confirmed these provisions. (Bk. III., art. 80 and 99.)

[4] Orano, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[5] "*In questo mese di febraio* 1529 *anchora non finita la locatione di Marco-Antonio e Julio de Ruspagliari da Rezzo perchè non mi pagavano, ho locato la preggione di Campidoglio a Julio de Paerris per un anno da venire, per scudi* 8 *lo mese, di che è rogato el prothonotario et per lui ha promesso de fida custodia Giovanni Baptista Quintilis.*" Orano, p. 376.

was obtained by the Senator Tornaboni, the very one that had condemned him; and his family, if not himself, was again reinvested with the prisons' lesseeship. Alberini, however, had been obliged to pay a fine of fifteen hundred ducats.[1] In 1545, he was still in possession of his privilege; and on the 30th of May, he leased the "prisons and the canteen of the Capitoline Curia," for two years, to a certain Camillo Blasio, at the rate of

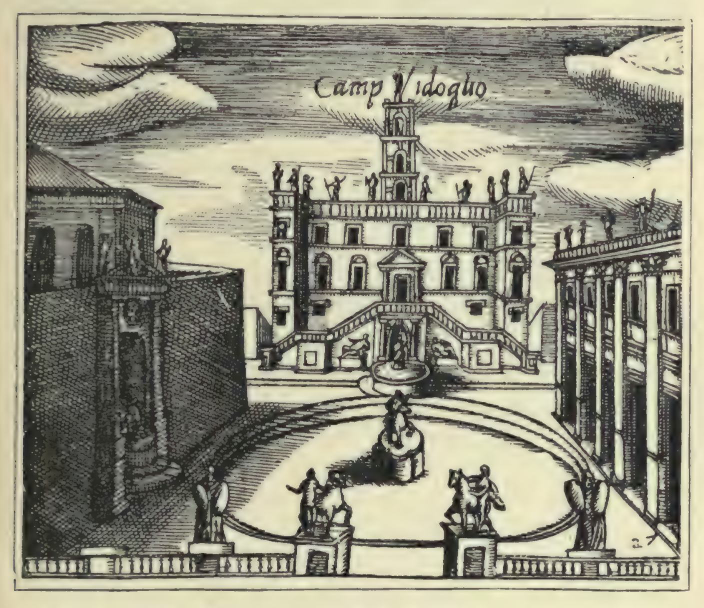


FIG. 34.—THE CAPITOL AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ten and a half crowns a month.[2] The maintenance of a prisoner or rather of a female prisoner, then cost eleven crowns for two months and a half.[3]

[1] Orano, pp. 396, 398. In 1570, a Marcello Alberini, who was, perhaps, the same person, became director of the people's printing-house. See the chapter dealing with this establishment (p. 175).

[2] *Arch. di Stato*, Ant. Pucci, Prot. 1386 (1508–1555), p. 579.

[3] Payment made, on the 17th of April, 1545, to Camillo de Signa, who had, no doubt, preceded Blasio in his office. *Arch. Seg. Vat.*, Div. Cam., vol. 134, fol. 178.

To one Orazio Alberini, in 1625, under the pontificate of Urban VIII., was entrusted the task of enlarging the prisons of the Capitol, so that they might hold as many as a hundred prisoners.[1]

In the following century, the prisons of the Capitol were farmed out for a hundred crowns per annum, to the hospital (called the arch-hospital) of Sancta Sanctorum, that is to say, of the Lateran. One condition of the payment was that the hospital should feed the poor prisoners.[2]

The taxes charged on those incarcerated were reduced to a tariff in 1586 and 1591.[3]

The sums were never large that were spent on repairing the prisons. In 1466, a mason received fifty florins "*pro parte solutionis fabrice carcerum reficiendorum in palatio Capitolii.*"[4] In the same year, four doors in travertine were restored, and the cost of the job was seven florins;[5] the materials were taken from the Coliseum.[6] In 1469, the windows overlooking the *Via del Campidoglio*, or the front from which prisoners besought the public's charity or intervention, were rebuilt; the expense amounted to thirty-nine florins. The ironwork of them was heavy, the weight being estimated at 1414 pounds. Shortly afterwards, the window of the cell was repaired in which those condemned to death were confined. This cell was immediately above the jailer's room.[7]

In 1577, the prisoners complained of being too cramped up,

1 Moroni, LXIV. 53, and art. Campidoglio, VII. We read in Scanarolus, *De Visitatione Carc.*: "*De carceribus Capitolii praemittendum prius est ipsos spectare ad dominos de Alberinis et ab ipsis locari, et de praesentium locari pro annuis scutis* 500 *monetae persolvendis de mense in mensem anticipato ad triennium, ut per acta Francischini Prothonotarii Senatoris die* 1 *Aprilis*, 1639." Cf. Forcella, I. n. 118.

2 Assembly of the 12th of March, 1705. Archiv. Stor., Not. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 42, fol. 41. *Ibid.*, Cred VII. fol. 41, fol. 24. Cf. *ibid.*, Cred. XVII. vol. 1, p. 149. Assembly of the 18th of Feb., 1780.

3 *Decreto fatto dall' Illmo. Sig. dell' una e dell' altre legge Dottore Sig. Giovanni Pelicano Senatore di Roma da osservarsi dalli Guardiani e custodi delle Carcere di Campidoglio, publicato in visita il* 21 *agosto*. 1586 *e confermata da N. S. Sixto V il* 1° *ot. Tasse delli Pagamenti ed altri ordini da osservarsi dal Capitano e Guardiani delle carceri di Campidoglio ampliati e confermati di ordine della Santità di N. S. Gregorio XIV, dall' Illmo. Sig. Ludovico Arca Senatore di Roma* (Rome, 16 March, 1591). (*Archiv. Seg. Vat.*, Arm. V. vol. 48, fol. 83, 105.)

4 Mand. Camer. Urbis, an. 1464–1473, fol. 21.

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 46. Müntz, in quoting these documents (*The Arts*, &c., v. II. 91) commits a slight error. They do not figure in the *Archiv. di Stato* among the *Mandati Camerali*, but among the *Mandati Camerae Urbis*, which shows that it was the Commune of Rome and not the Holy See which incurred the expense.

6 Cf. what is rather obscurely said apropos by E. Müntz, in *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), I. 147.

7 "*Flor. XXXIX bon. XX pro valore duarum fenestrarum positarum in carceribus Capitolii versus partem unde carcerati alloquuntur aliis personis* (11 Jan., 1469). *Fl. LXI bon. XXVI pro valore trium fenestrarum ferrorum quarum una posita fuit in camera supra carcererio in qua sunt carcerati ad penam vitae. . . .*' (Mand. Cam., an. 1468–1469, fol. 177.)

and that in the prison there were no "public and secret chambers."[1] Some improvements were made in 1585, under the pontificate of Sixtus V.[2]

The prisons of the Capitol were partially done away with, when the alterations were carried out that had been begun under the inspiration of Michael Angelo. Yet, in the view of the Senatorial palace drawn by Gio. Batta. Falda, about 1680, on either side of the chief entrance, fairly close to the ground, grated windows appear, which would seem to be those that conveyed light to the prisons existing at that time. These windows have now disappeared. The two highest have been

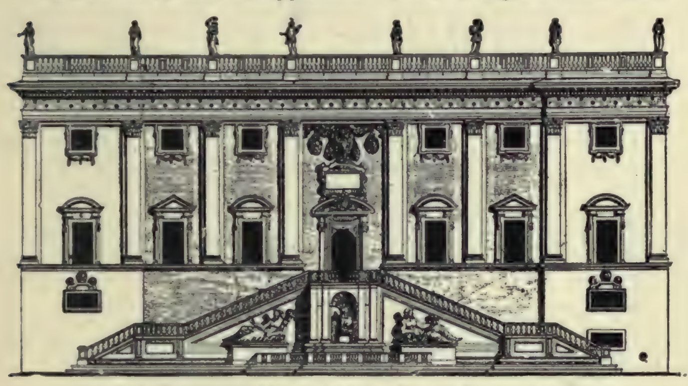


FIG. 35.—SENATORIAL PALACE. (FALDA'S ENGRAVING.)

replaced by marble tablets bearing inscriptions commemorative of the taking of Rome on the 20th of September, 1870.

The last vestiges of the prisons were destroyed in 1876, at which date certain modifications were made in the interior accommodation of the Senatorial palace, where, at present, the various municipal offices are centred. The door formerly leading to them has become that of the Secretarial department.

[1] Council meeting of the 27th Nov., 1577. "*De Mansionibus in carceribus Capitolinis fabricandis. N. Sig. Avendo avuto una supplica dai prigionieri di Campidoglio di stare molto ristretti ed incomodi per mancanza di stanze publiche e segrete, ed anche per le donne. . . . N. S. l'ha rimessa al Senatore il quale la rimette a voi. Ex S. C. decretum est debitae executioni demandari et mansiones pro carceratorum commoditate fieri, et ea propter sumenda et capienda esse scuta* 150 *per eseguire detti lavori.*" (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol 164.) The statutes of 1523 and those of 1580 recognise two sorts of prisons; the private prison, which was that of persons confined at the instance of a private individual; the public prison, in which were confined those charged with an offence against common law. (Statutes of 1523, Bk. II., art. 56; Statutes of 1580, Bk. II., art. 56.) See Gloss. of Galganetti, ed. 1611, p. 645.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 86.

At the top of the second landing of the stairs giving access to the prisons, an inscription records the alterations accomplished by order of Gregory XVI., in 1839.[1]

For a long time, the prisons went by the name Cancellaria, whilst the *Tabularium* had been called, as has been said, Camellaria, owing to the singular mistake already explained. The place was the same, with this shade of difference, that the *Cancellaria* was the most subterraneous part of the *Tabularium*, the one used as a jail.

Executions in the Sixteenth Century.

The hangings that Infessura, in his time, regretted were so few, as was seen in the previous chapter, were not long before they began again; and numerous ones took place on the Capitol during the sixteenth century, and in the few years prior to it.

In the single year of 1497 were hanged from the windows of the Capitol: Matteo di Andrea, Francesco di Giacomo, Pietro Santi, Giordano della Scarpa. At the same time, hangings were also carried out on the gibbet of Mount Caprino.[2]

The expenses of executions were generally paid by the Governor, who deducted the necessary sums from the money furnished by fines, *taxae maleficiorum*.[3] Under date of the 13th of July, 1515, the executioner received three julii (about a hundred sols) for cutting off the head of a male servant, Gio. Batta; he received, besides, a salary of three gold ducats a month. The price paid for hangings was the same as for decapitations, three julii.[4] It cost no more to have the criminal burned, after he had been hanged.[5] However, it would seem that compensation was made for the wood, the chains, and the scaffold, when the criminal had been burned alive. Eighteen carlins[6] were paid for the execution of a forger; and, for floggings, the executioner charged six carlins.[7]

1 Forcella, n. 382.

2 *Archiv. di Stato*, Archivio di s. Giovanni Decollato, Busta XXIV. vol. 2. This brotherhood's mission was to assist criminals; a regular register was kept of the executions at which the brethren of the order had been present.

3 Thus it was on the register of these taxes that such expenses were inscribed. *Archiv. di Stato*, Taxae Maleficiorum, Busta I. vol. 1 and following.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 48: "*Carnifex habuit julios tres pro suspendendo Petrum Augustinum assassinum*" (30 Aug., 1515).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 219: "*Carnifex habuit julios tres pro suspendendo et igne cremando quemdam falsatorem monetarum.*"

6 *Ibid.*: "*Pro justitia Marcelli de Vicovaro falsatoris monetarum qui fuit igne crematus, videlicet pro lignis, funis, cathena, furca, et vectura predictarum rerum Carl. XVIII.*"

7 *Ibid.*: "*Carnifex habuit Carlenos sex pro frustandis per urbem tribus qui ludebant cum cartis falsis. Cancellarius Bariselli habuit bol. XXXV, pro mitriis*

The ropes that had been used in hanging belonged to the brotherhood of *S. Giovanni Decollato.* In 1510, the latter decided that these ropes should no longer be buried with the dead body, as had been the practice for some time, but that a return should be made to the ancient custom, to wit, the burning of all the ropes together, in great pomp, on the feast of the patron saint of the brotherhood.

In 1511, mention is made for the first time of a corpse being handed over to the doctors for examination.[1]



FIG. 36.—THE PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORS. (FALDA'S ENGRAVING.)

In the pontificate of Leo X., albeit it was peaceful, there were a great number of executions at the Capitol, both on the gibbet of Mount Caprino and on the Square of the palace.[2] A man was quartered there in the year 1542.[3]

The last execution which took place on the Square of the Capitol was that of three so-called conspirators, Count

et funis, et etiam nonnullis aliis necessariis pro suspendendo Matthiam Peroctum.' Ibid.: "Carnifex habuit julios sex pro amputando manum et caput cujusdam homicide. Julios tres pro amputando caput cuidam de Vello. Julios tres pro suspendendo quemdam assassinum ad Turrim None. Carnifex habuit julios VI pro suspendendo et igne cremando Magistrum Johannem hispanum chirurgum. Carl. 15 pro frustando per urbem quemdam furem. Carnifex habuit julios tres pro amputando caput Julio Delia Fossa."

[1] *Archivio di Stato,* Registri delle Giustizie, vol. III. p. 32. In post-mortems the pontifical authorities observed numerous formalities, the details of which will be found in our work on "*Workmen's Guilds in Rome,*" Corporation of Doctors, vol. II. (in French).

[2] Registers of S. Giovanni Decollato, vol. III., IV., V.

[3] Aug., 1542: "*Giuli 15 a Benedetto da Bologna per la riparazione delle forche. Duc. 2 al Ministro di Giustizia, Marchetto, per sua mercede di avere strascinato*

Antonio Canossa, Taddeo Manfredi, and Benedettò Accolti, the last a son of the Cardinal of Ancona, who were dragged through the City, tied to the tail of a horse, and were afterwards slaughtered "like cows," on the Square of the Capitol (1565).[1]

After executions had ceased in the Capitol, the heads of those put to death were exposed in front of the prisons; as, for instance, that of the Marquis Manzoli, who was beheaded in the *Torre di Nona* prison (1636).[2] In the same year, a condemned man had his hand cut off, in front of the palace of the Conservators; after which, he was hanged on the Giudea Square.[3]

The punishment of the strappado was inflicted at the Capitol until the Revolution. In 1768, as the authorities were about to apply it to a malefactor, it was perceived that the necessary iron apparatus standing at the corner of the palace, *nel cantone del palazzo Senatorio*, was unfit for use. Orders were consequently given for its repair.[4] This instrument was destroyed, together with other implements of the same kind, on the entry of the French troops into Rome.

Consular Tribunals.

The necessities of their judiciary magistracy imposed on the consuls of the corporations the duty of holding their sittings in the immediate neighbourhood of the Capitol, the more so as

et impiccato Federigo d'Abruzzo. Al detto carolini 10 *per il cavallo e quello che lo menava per strascinare Federigo d'Abruzzo* (p. 75). *Al detto giuli* 15 *per avere frustati due e posti alla berlina.*" (*Archiv. di Stato*, Mand. Camer. Urbis, 1542, fol. 55.) Then again for the years 1544, 1557, fol. 8: *Duc* 3 : 50 *a maestro Stazio funaro per una corda da dar tormenti dalla corte di Campidoglio;* fol. 22: *Al Maestro di giustizia sc.* 1 : 50 *per avere appicato e bruciato Hieronimo francioso luterano;* fol. 31: *Bol.* 75 *al maestro di giustizia per avere frustato e tagliato l'orecchio ad uno.*

[1] Reg. di S. Gio. Decollato, vol. X. 306. The brotherhood spent 57 baiocchi in malmsey, Greek wine, confetti and cakes given to the condemned. The chaplain, who had overworked himself, had 25 bai.

[2] 1st Sept., 1636. *Sentenza contro Francesco Manzoli dei Bentivogli di Bologna olim Cam. Ap. clericum confessum quod dictaverit, composuit librum intitulatum "Ricordi del marchese Manzoli" nel quale sono maldicenze contro il pontifice ed altri. Fue condannato al taglio della testa per delitto di lesa maesta contro Urbano VIII.* (*Archiv. di Stato*, Sentenze criminali del Senatore, vol. II. busta 944, fol. 255.) A sort of guillotine had been used for this execution; the person who copied the sentence drew a sketch of it in the margin. In the middle of a wooden frame hangs by a cord a heavy piece of wood, in which is fixed a semicircular chopper; below there is a rectangular block. The sentence was a judiciary error, as was ascertained when the trial was appealed against by the heirs, whose only aim, indeed, was to avoid the confiscation of the condemned man's property. (*Diario di Mons. Spada*, Cod. Barberiniano, LIV. 61 *ad an.*)

[3] *Archiv. di Stato*, Archiv. di S. Giovanni Decollato, vol. XXII. fol. 256.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XV. vol. 1, fol. 78

the Senator was the appeal judge, in the various disputes that came before them. Formerly, indeed, the statutes obliged them to render justice at the foot of the market tower, which accounts for the fact that, as soon as the edifice was built which became the palace of the Conservators, the consuls installed themselves there for the holding of their sittings. In a Bull of Pope Gregory XII., dated in 1407, and addressed to the drovers' corporation, is the expression : "*In lovio dicte artis sito in opposito palatii Capitolii.*"[1] The cordwainers also had a room there from the early part of the fifteenth century. In the land-survey book of the Archbrotherhood *Sancta Sanctorum*, we read the following delimitation of a piece of ground : "*Domum terreneam et tegulatam positam in Mercato, ubi consueti sunt residère Calsorarii. Inter hos fines, ab uno . . . domus quôd Gregorii de Marganis, ante via publica que dicitur "Lo Mercato" et ab alio via per quam itur ad domus olim Banderensium.*"[2]



FIG. 37.—THE CAPITOL. (FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE CABINET OF PRINTS.)

A decision of the Communal Council, dated the 28th of April, 1569, grants to the consuls of the spice-dealers the room previously occupied by the farmers' corporation, in return for a payment of one hundred and fifty crowns.[3] Ottavio Vestri, who published his book in 1609, speaks of the already numerous consular tribunals established at the Capitol.[4] The names of divers corporations, which are still visible, engraven above the doors opening into the gallery of the palace of the Conservators, indicate the exact location of such tribunals, which must have resembled the small shops to which the consuls, when once their audience was over, came back to work. The following titles may be read there, starting from the right : VNIVERSITATIS FABRORVM ; VNIVERSITAS TABERNARIORVM ; VNIVERSIT. CARPENTARIOR. ; VNIVERSITA DE MACELLARI ; COLLEG. DE S.S. MERCANTI ;

[1] *Statuti dell' Agricultura*, ed. 1878, pp. 111, 235.

[2] Camillo Re, *Il Campidoglio*, *Bullettino della Com. Arch. Com.*, an. X. 1882, p. 113.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 24, fol. 37.

[4] Gatti, *Bull. Comm.*, an. 1894, p. 360.

COLLEGIO DE FONDACO DI S. MICHELE ARC.; AROMATARIORVM COLLEGIVM.[1] Along the steps leading to Vignola's portico, on the side towards the Tarpeian Mount, other corporations had their tribunals, to wit, the innkeepers, masons, bakers, tailors. On the architrave of one door can be read: VNIVERSITATIS ALBERGATORVM; a little further, on another door: HIC EST CONSV.MVRATOR, with the corporation emblems, a compass, a hammer, a plumb-line, a trowel and a square. Above a fourth door are engraven, on a marble-tablet, the coat of arms of the bakers, four loaves amidst a crown of lavender. At the end of the staircase, near the portico, there is inscribed, on a lintel: VNIVERSITAS SVTORVM; beside the busts of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, with a pair of scissors in the middle. On the opposite side appear emblems which may be those of the carpenters.[2]

In 1671, by a letter in his own hand, dated on the 25th of January, the Pope authorised the silk and wool trades to meet in the "new palace," viz., in the one that had just been built opposite the palace of the Conservators.[3] The notaries had rooms there likewise.[4] In 1697, a certain number of corporations begged permission to quit the rooms they occupied in the old palace, and to remove to the one that had been finished, pledging themselves to be responsible for all expenses resulting from the transfer. The Communal Council agreed to the request.[5]

When the ecclesiastical tribunals had acquired the monopoly of all law cases, and had done away with the other jurisdictions, a change which was operated in the course of the eighteenth century, the consular courts of justice gradually disappeared; and the corporations made the most of the rooms to which their consuls had no longer to go, for want of cases to judge. Some let them out to shopkeepers, others made tenements of them. The matter, however, created a scandal; and, on the 27th of April, 1741, the Communal Council, which had become a "*congregation*," decided to take the keys of their room from the ironmongers, who had allowed strangers to take possession of it.[6] In their meeting of the 31st of August, 1744, the Communal Congregation informed the Conservators that the spice-dealers had hired out their court-room to the City-sweeper; and they gave orders that prohibitive measures should be taken. In 1758, the apothecaries also let their room; and the scribe of the Senate was, in consequence, bidden to

[1] Cf. Bernardini, *Descrizione del nuovo Ripartimento*, Rome, 1744, p. 171.
[2] Gatti, *Statuti dei Mercanti*, p. xlvi; Vestri, *Pratica*, Rome, 1606, p. 38.
[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 4, fol. 89. Copy of the autograph letter.
[4] *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 4, fol. 97.
[5] *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 4, fol. 126.
[6] *Ibid.*, Cred. VII. vol. 100, fol. 288.

turn out the tenants. Ten years before, in 1748, the butchers had, of their own accord, given up possession of their room, which was made over to the proxies of the Capitol.[1] Indeed, the possession of a room at the Capitol was a heavy charge. The husbandmen's corporation was obliged, in order to get the premises which the drapers were giving up, to pay ten pounds of Venice wax to the Capitoline Chamber every year, and to keep in repair the roof of the palace of the Conservators, into the bargain. The woolmongers' corporation, rather than repair the windows of the room where they met, preferred to remove and abandon their privilege.[2]

The remaining rooms were closed in 1816. They belonged to the innkeepers, bakers and cordwainers, who, however, let them. As for the other rooms, the Capitoline Chamber had long since taken possession of them.[3]

Honorific Statues.[4]

Leo X. was the first Pope to whom a statue was raised in the Capitol.[5] The Communal Council, in their meeting of the 10th of July, 1518, resolved to accord him this honour, as a mark of the Roman people's gratitude to him.[6] In fact, Leo X. had restored to the people some of their ancient rights and revenues.[7] Domenico Diana of Bologna was entrusted with the task. The condition had been imposed on him that he should carve the statue in Carrara marble ; but, as no advance of money had been made him, he put the statue in a private house, on its being finished, and entered an action against the Conservators.[8] In 1520, the matter was not yet settled.[9] Then he was forced to restore a hundred ducats which had been handed him as an instalment in the interval.[10] Subse-

1 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 100, fol. 515 ; Cred. VII. vol. 69, fol. 162 ; vol. 40, fol. 300. Functionaries are meant, employees who acted as process-servers to the people. 2 *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 40, fol. 129, 177.

3 Assembly of the 30th of Dec., 1816. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XVIII. vol. 99, fol. 79, 82, 89, 96, 106.

4 For general information, see Cod. Vat. 7927, c. 101. *Decreti del Senato e Popolo Romano in occasione di eriggere statue ai Romani Pontifici.*

5 D. Gnoli, *Descriptio Urbis*, in the *Archiv. della R. Società R. di Storia patria*, XVII. 389 ; D. Orano, *Il Sacco di Roma*, I. 202.

6 Sitting of 10th July 1518. Orders were given to Giuliano Giovenale, prior of the *caporioni*, and to Francesco Branca, chancellor, to pay the necessary sums. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 34, fol. 45. The text is somewhat different. Cred. I. vol. 15, fol. 35 ; vol. 11, fol. 71 ; same sitting.

7 By the Bull "*Dum singularem*" of the 18th April, 1513.

8 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Atti Notarili orig., vol. 899.

9 It is true that they were totally out of funds. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I vol. 36, fol. 68. Cf. fol. 81.

10 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, fol. 126 ; vol. 33, fol. 180.

quently, the work was resumed and the last touches were made; and the statue was set up in one of the rooms of the palace of the Conservators.[1] In 1876, this statue was removed to the church of S. Maria Aracoeli, by the care of the Syndic of Rome. It had a guardian, who was paid, as a salary, a hundred crowns a year! However, the guardian's duties were not confined to watching over the statue; he was also required to honour it. When the first guardian died, his duties were divided out, and his prebend also. Monks received the emoluments, the condition being that they should say masses in honour of the defunct Pope.[2]

Paul III. had his statue in the Senatorial palace, near the tribunal of the *maestri di strada*.[3] It was erected in 1543. The Syndic of Rome had it removed, in 1876, as he had done with that of Leo X., to the church of S. Maria Aracoeli. Paul IV., too, had his statue in the Capitol.[4] In 1558, four Councillors were appointed to superintend its completion.[5]

On the death of this Pope, in 1559, the people cast down his statue, which was utilised, subsequently, for the honouring of another Pope. The socle was given to the Aracoeli monks, at their own request.[6]

In 1576, a credit was granted to Paolo Oliviero to terminate the statue of the then reigning Pope, Gregory XIII.[7] For that of Sixtus V., the sculptor Taddeo Landini was paid thirteen hundred crowns, a sum which he deemed insufficient (26th of June, 1587).[8] On the other hand, Costanza Sforza obtained leave to set up, in a room of the palace, the statue of her husband, Giacomo Buoncompagni, "to honour his memory."[9] The abuse of the custom was beginning. On the death of Sixtus V., during the interregnum in the Holy See, it was decreed that, "on pain of infamy," no one should, thenceforth, propose

1 On the socle an inscription was engraven. Forcella, I. n. 40.

2 Meeting of the 4th of Aug., 1524. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 36, fol. 742.

3 It was two magistrates of this order who had been the promoters of the erection of this statue. D. Orano, *Il Sacco di Roma*, I. 489. It had been taken from a pillar found in the Capitol. E. Müntz, *The Ancient Monuments of Rome* (in French), 1886, p. 41. Text of the inscription engraven on the pedestal. Forcella, I. n. 46.

4 Meeting of the Communal Council (Oct., 1555). Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 36, fol. 742.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. 37, fol. 10.

6 Sitting of the XIV. Kal. Sept., 1563. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 37, fol. 157, 159.

7 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 24. Eight commissaries were appointed on the 29th Mar., 1576. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 33.

8 *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 11. Inscription placed on the socle. Forcella, I. n. 84. Cf. Bertolotti, *Artisti bolognesi a Roma*, Bologna, 1885, p. 83.

9 *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 15, fol. 47, 137; vol. 16, fol. 26; vol. 21, fol. 145. He was the son of Pope Gregory XIII.; see p. 171.

the erection of a statue to a living Pope (28th of August, 1590).[1] In contrast to this, the Council decided, on the 27th of September following, that a statue should be erected to Pope Urban VII., who had died on the 15th of September, after twelve days' reign.[2] In 1593, a statue was raised to Alexander Farnese;[3] in 1595, another was voted to Mark Antony Colonna, who had contributed to the victory of Lepanto (1571),[4] and yet another to the Count di Santafiora.[5] In 1596, a statue was raised to Virginio Orsini.[6] Clement VII. also had his statue; his beneficence to the Capitol well deserved this favour; but, in order that the expense might not be too great, the Council contented itself with putting a new head to the statue of Paul IV., which the people had not long before decapitated. It was only in 1649 that Bernini received the order to model an entire statue.[7]

1 "*De caetero simulacra Pontificum viventium non erigantur.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 254. In 1657, the three Conservators declared they had seen in the hall of the Fasti the following inscription, the text of which they gave, and that they knew the instructions it contained had been abolished by a Brief of Pope Urban VIII., dated the 11th of Jan., 1634. See further on, p. 188.
Text of the inscription:

SI QVIS PRIVATVS SIVE MAGISTRATVM GERENS, SIVE ALIA QVAVIS AVCTHORITATE POLLENS DE COLLOCANDA VIVO PONTIFICI STATVA MENSIONEM FACERE AVXIT LEGITIMO S.P.Q.R. DECRETO IN PERPETVVM INFAMIS ET PVBLICORVM MVNERVM EXPERS ESTO. MDXC MENS. AVGVST. IN TABVLA MARMOREA AD ÆTERNITATEM INCIDERE CVRARVNT MDXCI MENS. MARTO.
RVTILIVS ALTERIVS, ALPHONSVS AVILA, OCTAVIVS BVBALVS CONSERVAT.
PROSPER JACOBATIVS DE FACESCHIS PRIOR.
QVOD IN MALAS ADVLATORVM ARTES OLIM S.P.Q.R. DECREVERAT ID NE CVICQVAM RVRSVS ELVDENDI ADITVS SVPERSIT PLACVIT NOVO S.C. CONFIRMARE AVGEREQVE VT NEMO IN SENATV VERBA FACIAT DE COLLOCANDA STATVA PVBLICOVE MONVMENTO SIVE VIVO PONTIFICI, SIVE ALIIS QVI CVM VIVO PONTIFICE CONIVNCTI SANGVINE VEL FAMILIARITATE AVT VIVANT AVT E VIVIS EXCESSERINT, QVI SECVS FAXIT INFAMIS ET PVBLICIS MVNERIBVS IMPAR SCIET DIE PRIMA APRILIS MDCV.
HIERONIMVS DE BALZEO DE SIRLETIS, ANTONIVS GABRIELIVS, TIBERIVS LANCELLOTTVS CONSERVAT.
ANTONIVS MVTIVS PRIOR.

Archiv. Stor. Capit., Not. Conserv., vol. 4, 102. In the margin, on the following page, we read: "I, Constantin Gigli, having learnt that these decrees were about to be abolished, copied them word for word."

2 *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 258.

3 The 15th of November. *Ibid.*, Cred IV. vol. 104, fol. 5. Inscription engraven on the base. Forcella, I. n. 97.

4 Inscription on the base. Forcella, I. n. 101. See p. 170. He had died in 1584.

5 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. IV. vol. 104, fol. 29, 41, and Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 172. Several of these statues, among others that of Mark Antony Colonna, may still be seen in the gallery of the Capitoline Museum (Palace of the Conservators).

6 The 2nd of Aug. *Ibid.*, Cred I. vol. 30, fol. 210.

7 Michaelis, *La Collez. Capit.*, p. 52.

The Popes at the Capitol.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, it became a custom that the Popes should stop at the Capitol, on their way to St. Peter's in the Lateran, in order to take possession of the tiara. Saint Pius V., it seems, was the first who received there the homage of the urban magistrates.[1] The Conservators and other officers came to meet him ; and, after saluting him, accompanied him on horseback to the Lateran (1566). The ceremony retained this simplicity until the coronation of Sixtus V., in honour of whom an arch of three poles was erected and decorared with escutcheons containing his coat of arms (1585). Better still was done for Gregory XIV. ; a triumphal arch was raised at the summit of the great staircase, and the atrium was decked with fine hangings, not, as the narrator says, with vulgar coverings ; and the Conservators, the heads of the various wards, with the two chancellors, went to meet the Pope, to the sound of oboes followed by the voice of numerous musicians (1590).[2]

Festivities held in the Capitol in the Sixteenth Century.

In the sixteenth century, there were theatrical performances in the Capitol. On the 20th of April, 1501, the anniversary of the foundation of the City, the Conservators gave a banquet in their palace, at which Burchard was present, and found the wines, moreover, to be of very poor quality. The banquet was succeeded by a comedy ; but the audience was so numerous and so noisy that nothing could be heard.[3] In the pontificate of Leo X., there was a comedy again, when the people granted the freedom of the City to Giuliano and Lorenzo de Medici, to please the Pope (1513). A Latin play was acted, which was very long and uninteresting.[4]

[1] Cancellieri, *Storia dei solenni possessi*, Rome, 1802, p. 111 and following for the other coronations.

[2] Expenses incurred on this occasion. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 260.

[3] "*Inde* (after the mass said at the church of S. Maria Aracoeli) *ivimus ad palatium conservatorum ubi invitati fecerunt prandium in quadam logia quadrangulari in qua parte fuerunt due mense longe, juxta duos muros, quorum duo apita conjungebantur ; una extendebat se illuc alia ita quod faceret triangulum. . . . Prandium fuit satis feriale et sine bono vino. Post prandium fuit recitata quedam comedia in curia palatii predicti, in tanta populi pressura, quod propter malum ordinem nemo poterat videre bene. Non fuerant servata loca invitatis vel nobilibus, sed omnia iñ confusio ; propterea recessi.*" Ed. Thuasne, III. 132.

[4] Cerasoli, *Le Feste in Campidoglio nel* 1513 ; *Il Buonarrotti*, 1891 ; Roscoe, *The Life of Leo the Tenth*, I. 329. Cf. *Diario di P. de Grassi*, published by Armellini,

In 1571, Mark Antony Colonna was received in trumph at the Capitol, after the victory at Lepanto. There had been great terror in Rome; in 1565, the Communal Council had decided to call all the people to the Capitol, in order that they might testify their attachment to the Holy See, and their determination to hold out against the Turk.[1] Great fêtes were resolved on, to the expense of which the Pope, Pius V., announced that he would contribute.[2]

On the election of Gregory XIII. (1572), the Roman magistrates, to ingratiate themselves with him, granted the freedom of the City to his son Giacomo Buoncompagni, to whom they also offered a banquet at the Capitol. The payment of the expenses was not settled without certain protests, with which the Communal Council had to deal.[3]

In 1585, Japanese ambassadors came to Rome to open up a negotiation with the Pope. Having left Nagasaki on the 20th of February, 1582, they made their solemn entry into Rome on the 22nd of March, 1585, and were received at the Capitol; but the details of their reception are not known.[4]

PEOPLE'S PRINTING-HOUSE.

Already a hundred years had passed since the German printers Hahn, Schweinheim and Pannartz had brought to Rome the art of typography, which flourished but poorly, when Pope Paul IV. bethought himself to create in his capital a printing establishment for the purpose of publishing, from texts accepted by the Church, the theological works that the German Lutherans were then editing in quite another spirit. To this end, he addressed himself to Paul Manutius, son of the celebrated Aldus Manutius, whose classical editions rendered him especially fitted to carry out the task which the Pope desired to entrust to him. An annual remuneration of five hundred gold crowns was assured him, in addition to other advantages.[5]

Rome, 1894, p. 75. The She-Wolf and the Hand holding a globe were used in decorating the theatre. Michaelis, *Coll. Capit.*, p. 14.

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 22, fol. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. 25, fol. 170.

[3] Sitting of the 30th of September, 1573. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred I. vol. 38, fol. 485.

[4] Sitting of the 11th of May, 1583. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 278.

[5] Moroni, *Diz. di Erud.*, LXIX. 288; Renouard, *Annals of the Aldine Printing-press* (in French), Paris, 1834, p. 188; Brunet, *Supplement*, p. 1011; *New General Biography* (in French), article Manutius, by Ambroise Firmin-Didot; *Grand French Encyclopedia*, art. Paul Manutius. The indications of these various authorities do not always agree. In the article of Ambroise Firmin-Didot, it is said, at the

His press was set up in a house near the Trevi fountain and received at the beginning the title of the Apostolic printing-press ; but, as the house belonged to the Commune,[1] the volumes that were issued from his press bore the mention : "*In Aedibus Populi Romani.*"[2] This has led several authors to believe that the people's printing-house had been removed, at some time or other, to the Capitol, into the palace of the Conservators. A sort of tradition even has grown up to this effect ;[3] but, in addition to there being no trace of such an installation, no text

beginning, that Paul Manutius died at Venice, and, at the end, that he died in Rome. It was, in fact, in Rome that he died. Cf. Memoir of Fabrizio Galletti (see further on) at the Communal Council. Deliberation of the Communal Council concerning the grant of the 500 crowns. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 24, fol. 226. Paul Manutius, it seems, had a private printing-press ; several works that appeared at this time bear the mention : *Romae apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F.* Renouard, *Annals of the Aldi* (in French), gives the titles of them. The first was *De Concilio liber Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis*, M.D.LXII. The protector and patron of Manutius, to wit, Paul IV., having died in Aug., 1559, the event must have delayed the commencement of the printing, and perhaps the arrival of Manutius, since his biographers give it as being on the 7th of June, 1561. There were other printing-presses in Rome ; that of Blado, which was old established (it was already at work about 1536 : Brunet, IV. 787) was the most important of them The publications from his press have been catalogued by Fumagalli, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di A. Blado*, Rome, 1891 ; they number 666. From 1560 till 1567, the frontispiece bears : *Romae apud Antonium Bladum, Impressorem Cameralem.* Then, after this date, Bladum being dead, it is : *Romae, apud heredes Antonii Bladii, Impressores Camerales.* Before the establishment of the people's printing-house, Blado received a monthly stipend of four ducats. (Mand. Camer., 1552–1554, fol. 106, 14 Aug., 1553.) "*Solvatis Antonio Blado Impressori Apos. Duc. XVI auri de Cam. pro sua quatuor mensium ordinaria provisione.*" From 1593, Blado's name completely disappears ; and the publications, whether books or edicts, that were issued by his press, bear only the mention : *Apud Impressores Camerales.* He left a son or relative who, on the 2nd of Sept. previously, had been imprisoned for the crime of sodomy (Cod. Urb. Vat. 1060) ; in 1578, he had been called on, as will be seen, to manage the people's printing-house. Besides the two great printing establishments of Manutius and Blado, there were many others of less importance. On works published in Rome in this period appear the names of Accolto (1567), Eliano (1573), De Rubeis (1574), Domenico Baso, who published the *Kalendarium gregorianum perpetuum* (1582), Giliotto (1583), both of whom were interested in the people's printing-house ; Bonfodino (1585), Francesco Zanetti (1585), who also had to do with the people's printing house ; Bartolomeo Grassi (1587), De Dianis (1588). Giorgio Ferrari (1590), Franceschi (1598), Facchetti (1600). Cardinal de Medici, who, in 1587, became Grand-Duke of Tuscany under the name of Ferdinand I., created a printing-press especially intended to reproduce works in oriental type. Gio. Batta. Raimondi of Cremona was commissioned to superintend the printing. In 1592, this press published an Arabic alphabet, *Alphabetum Arabicum*, 1592, *in Typographia Medicea*, M.D.XCII.

[1] The purchase had been made in 1562. Council meeting of the 10th of Jan., 1562. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 37, fol. 99. The house was, in fact. brought for 6,150 crowns. *Ibid.*, fol. 143. The people's coat of arms was placed on the house in July. *Ibid.*, fol. 153.

[2] The first works, as, for instance, that of Franciscus Vargas, *Catholicae Maiestatis rerum Status*, bear the mention *Apud Paulum Manutium Aldi, in Aedibus Po. Ro.* It was not until after 1567 that it disappeared in consequence of the breach between Manutius and the Communal Council.

[3] Moroni, *loc. cit.* ; Renouard, *Annals of the Aldine Printing-press* (in French). Paris, 1834, p. 184. Filippo de Boni, *Biografia degli Artisti*, Venice, 1840, p. 608. On the contrary, Michel Mettaire, *Annals of Typogr.* (in French), III., II. 512, in relating the life of Manutius, makes no allusion to the establishment of the people's printing-house in the Capitol.

making mention of it, all the documents having to do with the said press tend, on the contrary, to contradict such an



FIG. 38.—THE CAPITOL SEEN FROM THE FORUM.

hypothesis. It seems, therefore, certain that the press remained in the spot where it was first set up.[1]

[1] This is also the opinion of the learned director of the Capitoline Archives, Doctor Coletti, who is preparing a special work on this point and who has kindly

It was an unprofitable business from the commencement. The Pope had presented the establishment with a quantity of fine type,[1] and had exempted the paper, ink, and fresh type from duties ; yet in spite of these advantages, the working of it was so onerous that, in 1653, the Pope begged the Communal Council, through the medium of Cardinal Vitellozo-Vitelli, to take over the press, and to devote to its maintenance at least two hundred crowns, deducted from the Gabella dello Studio (foreign wine-tax). He reminded them that it was "a thing necessary to religion and useful and honourable to the City." But the Council replied that they did not see what advantage the Commune could have in keeping up an undertaking for others alone to profit by. The public Council, to which the secret Council submitted the question, returned the same answer.[2] In reality, however, the Romans wished the Holy See to give effect to its offer. As, in the month of February following, the *Motu proprio* ratifying the donation had not yet been handed to the Conservators, the Council grew anxious. It was explained to them that the deeds were still in the possession of the Cardinals, who were desirous of inserting exceedingly hard conditions in them, such as the obligation to spend from ten to twelve thousand crowns on the reinstallation of the printing machinery, and a pledge to devote three hundred crowns a month to its being kept in repair, and to publish no work without their (the Cardinals') consent or the consent of "their ministers." In fine, replied the Councillors, after listening to these proposals, the Roman people would have no other right than that of paying.[3] Thereupon the Pope entrusted the management of the press to Paul Manutius, who, until then, it would seem, had been the technical manager. When Cardinals Amulio and Vitelli announced to the Council deputies this decision of the Pope, they protested, maintaining that the sovereign pontiff had made a gift of the press to the people. It was replied to them that the people had not accepted the gift ; and Paul Manutius, being introduced, exhibited the Brief that conferred on him the directorship. The deputies learnt even that the Pope would require the Council to continue the monthy grant of sixty crowns they were paying to the press. Then they insisted on an audience with the Pope himself, who repeated to them that, if he had

and most unselfishly facilitated our own researches. If in this study such particular notice is paid to the people's printing-house, it is because of its intimate connection with the Capitoline palace, and also because of the false notion that has just been dealt with.

[1] *Dictionary of Geography* (in French), Deschamps, sequel to Brunet, col. 1101.

[2] Sitting of the 29th of Nov., 1563. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 22, fol. 26.

[3] Sitting of the 17th of Feb., 1564. *Ibid.*, fol. 45.

made over the establishment to another party, it was owing to their own procrastination. At the same time, however, he promised that, before long, he would confer on the people a more important gift.[1] None the less, the protest formulated by the representatives of the Council bore fruit apparently, since an agreement was come to between Paul Manutius and the people, by the terms of which Manutius consented to the donation being transferred to the Roman people, on condition that the profits accruing should be equally shared between him and them.[2] On his side, Manutius held to none of his engagements;[3] and, in consequence, the Council suppressed the grant they had agreed to pay him.[4] To this Manutius replied by closing the printing-house doors against the Council deputies, and by refusing to produce his accounts.[5] A lawsuit was begun; and the first act of the Communal Council was to claim restitution of the house in which the press was set up, on the ground that it had great need of being put in order and even of being repaired (1566).[6] Then they decided, when they had gained this point, that the said house should be sold, and that the sum accruing from the sale should be invested in the State pawn establishment, with a view to its being used later in meeting the expenses of the press. A "depositary" and an accountant ("computist," *i.e.*, a sort of book-keeper) were designated to watch the transaction (7th of May, 1566).[7] The house was sold to Lelio da Ceri, who paid off the last instalment of the purchase money in 1568.[8] The Council had, however, by no means given up superintending their printing-press, which seems to have remained in the same premises. They appointed commissaries, every year, "*ad gubernium stampae*"; but, as this superintendence was troublesome, the commissaries were continually resigning office.[9] In 1570, the press going

[1] *Consilium ordinarium convocatum per Mandatarios del* 16 *Maggio* 1564. Archiv. Stor Capit., Cred. I. vol. 22, fol. 68.

[2] Sittings of the 11th Aug. and 3rd Sept., 1565. *Ibid.*, fol. 127, 135. *Super negotio stampae et motu proprio obtinendo in confirmatione Societatis inite inter Po. Romanum et Paulum Manutium.*

[3] Manutius seems to have divided his attention between the press at Rome and that of his family at Venice. His volume *Epistolae et Praefationes* was published at Venice in 1581. The following editions of 1560, 1561, 1569 were also printed at Venice. Only one book by him printed at Rome is known, *Antiquitatum Romanorum* Paulii Manucii *liber de Civitate Romana, Romae ab Aldo typis Francisci Zanetti.*

[4] Sitting of the 13th Dec., 1565. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 6, p. 65.

[5] *Elezione di Deputati a prendere il possesso di una casa posseduta da Paolo Manuzio nel Rione Colonna.* Council meeting of the 22nd Dec., 1565. *Ibid.*, fol. 70 and following.

[6] Sittings of the 6th and 26th of April, 1566. *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 22, fol. 180, 184.

[7] Council meeting of the 7th of May, 1566. *Ibid.*, fol. 190.

[8] Council meeting of the 9th of July, 1568. *Ibid.*, vol. 38, fol. 89.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 24, fol. 81.

"from bad to worse," it was decided to modify its organisation.[1] Boccapaduli and two other Roman citizens had the mission conferred on them of negotiating an agreement with a bookseller, named Fabrizio Galletti, who was already, it seems, occupying himself with the printing-press, and who received the title of "governor."[2] One condition of the contract was that the books issued from his establishment should continue to bear the mention: *In Aedibus Po. Romani.* He was to keep eight presses at work, and to spend, in putting the concern into repair, a sum of eight thousand crowns.[3] In this year, and on the 30th of March, Marcello Alberini, who had been spoken of as lessee of the prison in the Capitol, was chosen director of the printing-house, together with Tommaso Cavalieri and Ascanio Caffarelli.[4]

The Council showed themselves all the more disposed to make over the management of their printing-house, since the typesetters were claiming payment of their wages, which Manutius had been irregular in settling. The debt, indeed, was discharged by the Council, in spite of the commissaries' opposition.[5]

However, the printing-press continued to drag on its existence. It appears to have been employed in printing the works of writers, magistrates or ecclesiastics that the Council wished to oblige. On the 19th of December, 1570, they decided to print, at the Roman people's expense, an essay of the people's advocate, Gabriele Bari, entitled "*De laudibus Romanorum et linguae latinae.*"[6]

Galletti's appointment as governor of the press did not put a stop to the trouble it caused the Communal Council; far from it. A lawsuit began between Galletti and another bookseller, named Domenico Basa, who pretended to certain rights over the press; and the Council were obliged to interfere. Cesare Gentile pleaded together with Basa. On the other hand, Paul Manutius claimed that he had made over half of his rights to the Commune's grant to the new nominee, and that compensation was due to him.[7] The affair was further complicated by a claim from Galletti, who accused the Council of having employed the funds intended for the printing-house to pay for the bringing of water to the Capitol.

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., vol. 24, fol. 148. Sitting of the 31st Jan., 1570.

[2] Decree of nomination, 3rd Feb., 1570; Bicci, *Storia della Famiglia Boccapaduli*, Rome, 1762, p. 123.

[3] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 24, fol. 149; vol. 38, fol. 196. Sitting of the 16th of March, 1570.

[4] Bicci, *Notizia della Famiglia Boccapaduli*, p. 134.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 24, fol. 156, 154.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 38, fol. 245. Another document: *ibid.*, vol. 38, fol. 289.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 24, fol. 224. Galletti's claim dated the 2nd of Sept., 1570.

Meanwhile, Paul Manutius had abandoned all connection with the printing-house. He even quitted Rome and went to Venice ; but only for a time. Having returned to Rome, where Pope Gregory XIII. welcomed him, and where he published several works, while pursuing his Commentary on Cicero, he died there on the 6th of April, 1579.[1]

After much discussion, Galletti signed a lease, engaging to pay the City an annual quit-rent of fourteen hundred crowns ;[2] and, after a minute inventory, the printing-plant was valued at 10,226:63 crowns.[3] This notwithstanding, Basa did not allow the new governor to peaceably enjoy his privilege. He suggested to the booksellers of Rome that they should form a syndicate for the purpose of establishing a printing-press of their own.[4] This was only a threat. The booksellers' corporation had not the funds necessary for such an enterprise. Basa appears to have become reconciled to Galletti, and was appointed technical manager of the printing-house.

In the year 1572, the whole question was reopened, because Pope Gregory XIII., who was elected on May the 19th, had not continued to the people's printing-house the monopoly of printing breviaries. The Council declared that the press should cease operations, if the old traditions were not reverted to. For the rest of the year, the Pope and the Council remained at loggerheads.[5]

The Council always appointed four commisaries whose office lasted for two years and who were renewed by twos. The jurisconsult Luca Peto, who drew up the City statutes in 1580, was elected commissary in 1572.[6] Others were appointed in 1578.[7] At this date, Blado's widow took possession of the printing-house. The Council granted her a credit of two hundred crowns.[8]

Pope Sixtus V., in 1587, greatly increased the development of the Vatican printing-press, the management of which he entrusted to Domenico Basa, placing twenty thousand crowns at his disposal. Now, the Vatican press, which, shortly after,

[1] Articles quoted above and *Epistolarum Pauli Manutii Libri XII; Lettere di Paolo Manuzio*, Paris, Renouard, 1834.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 24, fol. 170. Sitting of the 8th of March, 1570. Cf. what is said in the document of the 27th of April, 1571, mentioned below.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 24, fol. 185. Sitting of the 11th of April, 1570.

[4] Council meeting of the 27th of April, 1671, vol. 38, fol. 280, and vol. 25, fol. 60, same text.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 25, fol. 224, 226, 239. Sittings of the 11th and 25th of Aug., of the 1st of Dec., 1572.

[6] The 22nd of April. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, fol. 204. [7] *Ibid.*, vol. 29, fol. 37.

[8] Council meeting of the 23rd of June, 1578. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 196. Books called for by public opinion were in process of publication. Council meeting of 16th May, 1576. *De certis libris imprimendis.* Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 37. *De Imprimendis Testibus canonicis. Ibid.*, fol. 51.

became the printing agency of the Propaganda, was used for the same functions as those assigned by previous Popes to the people's printing-house, viz., the publishing, in accordance with sound doctrine, of "the works of the Church Fathers, the holy books, the Saints' lives, the various acts and miracles, in order to uphold the weak, to heal the sick, and to snatch from darkness those that were walking therein."[1]

This substitution dealt the last blow to the people's printing-house, which thenceforward went quickly to ruin. The commissaries appointed by the Council were in despair, and resigned one after the other.[2]

In 1580, the City statutes had been printed by it, and, in 1586, the Council voted the printing of a life of St. Pius V., which nevertheless appeared in the same year, with the name of Vincenzo Accolti as printer.[3]

The last volume issued from the people's press seems to have been that of *Statuta nobilis Artis Agriculturae*, printed in 1595.[4]

[1] Bull "*Eam semper*" of the 27th of April, 1857. *Erectio typographiae Vaticanae.* Cf. Moroni, *Diz. di Erud.*, LXIX. 231, who mentions another Bull, "*Romani Pontificis Providentia*," dated the 1st of Feb., 1589, which is not found in the *Magnum Bullarium.* In 1590, Clement VIII., in order to help Aldus Manutius, junior, entrusted him with the management of this press. Aldus Manutius had worked in Rome from 1562 till 1565 under his father's direction. He died in Rome on the 28th of Oct., 1597.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 37; vol. 15, fol. 204, &c.

[3] Sitting of the 15th of Jan., 1586. Archiv. Stor Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 18. The title of the volume is: G. Catena, *Vita di Pio V*, Roma, nella Stamperia di Vincenzo Accolti, 1586, 4to.

[4] The edition of 1566 reads simply, "*Romae*"; that of 1573, "*In Aedibus Populi Romani*"; that of 1718, "*Nella Stamperia della R.C.A.*" (*Reverenda Camera Apostolica*).



THE CAPITOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE PALACES.

AFTER the completion of the great scheme undertaken in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the further realisation of Michael Angelo's designs was checked for a time. The Communal treasury was empty; and the Council saw their authority diminishing from day to day.

During the early years of the seventeenth century, we find mention only of some slight attempts at keeping what was already done in repair. A master mason received eighty crowns for working on the palace of the Conservators; a carpenter, fifteen crowns; a stone-cutter, seven and a half crowns; another, fifty for repairs. The mason Rossi received twenty-five crowns for a balustrade to be built in front of the portico of the church of S. Maria Aracoeli.[1]

Still, there was urgent need for work of considerable importance to be undertaken. In 1604, it was perceived that the great hall of the Senatorial palace, the one in which the Senator held his audiences, was in imminent danger of collapsing. *Aula palatii Dñi Senatoris maximum excidium minatur*, declared the first Conservator to the assembled Council, which had been called together in great haste.[2] The cause of the threatened falling in was the salt, which had been lying so long in the basement floor of the palace that it had imperceptibly eaten away the walls, the traces of its action being even now visible. There

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 206 and following, year 1611. The expenses of the other years are insignificant. "The Capitol is beautiful to see," wrote the Prince of Condé in 1622; "on the right is the city hall; the courtyard is full of ancient statues, and has a marble table of measures; on the steps, in the rooms and chambers are many antique statues. Opposite is the Senator's abode, where there is only one fairly fine room." (*Travels (*in French), Paris, 1634, p. 133.)

[2] Secret Council meeting of the 16th of Dec., 1604. "*Super excidio Aule Palatii.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 31, fol. 121.

was no time to be lost. As funds were lacking, the Council decided to sell the Senatorial protonotary's office, for a period of three years.[1] However, the repairs they were able to make were insufficient ; and, in 1612, the task of under-propping had to be done over again. An inscription placed on the façade of the Senatorial palace attributes the honour of this operation to Paul V., whether it was that he paid the expenses or that he merely gave the requisite orders.[2] Even the latter repairs were inadequate ; for, in 1623, Gregory XV. was obliged to give instructions for fresh ones, as another inscription testifies.[3]

In 1613, panes of glass were put in the windows of the palace of the Conservators, which previously had possessed only linen blinds, as was usual in Rome in the century before. The cost was twelve crowns.[4] The two groups of Castor and Pollux were restored.[5] In 1614, the statue of the Roman people was restored.[6] In 1615, the question of finishing the inside decoration of the palace of the Conservators came up for consideration. Pope Paul V. granted the Communal Council a thousand crowns, so that they might have the room next the *loggia*, where the Conservators ate, hung with yellow and red damask. The ceiling was, at the same time, ornamented and decorated with the armorial bearings of the Pope and people.[7] Silver plates and dishes were brought for the Conservators' use, which cost three hundred crowns.[8] On the other hand, something was done towards the laying out of the gardens behind the palace of the Conservators, on the Tarpeian Mount.

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 31, fol. 124.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 113.

[3] Forcella, I. n. 116.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 32.

[5] "*Dal Campidoglio* 10 *Maggio* 1613. *Sc.* 10 *a M. Filippo scultore a bon conto del restauro che fa del Gigantea capo alla scala di Campidoglio. . . . Sc.* 10 *a M. Filippo scultore a bon conto del restauro che fa alla statua di uno dei Giganti in capo alla scala della piazza di Campidoglio. Dal Campidoglio* 15 10*bre* 1613. *Sc. a bon conto a M. Filippo scultore del restauro che fa alli cavalli di marmo e giganti a capo alla scala di Campidoglio, che cascavano.*" *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 230–240. "*Dal Campidoglio* 14 *Maggio* 1614. *Sc.* 12 *a bon conto a M. Filippo scultore del restauro fatto e da farsi al gigante di marmo e cavallo a capo alla scala della piazza di Campidoglio.*" *Ibid.*, fol. 243.

[6] Under date of the 22nd of Sept., 1614 : "*Sc.* 22 *a maestro Vincenzo Corallo scultore per risarcimento fatta alle statue del Po. Ro. in Campidoglio.*" Under date of the 15th of Dec., 1614 : "*Sc.* 8:59 *a Domenico Sensi Maestro di casa dei Conservatori per far restaurare le statue del Po. Ro. ed acquisto della testa di marmo di un putto.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 247, 250.

[7] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 274 and following, fol. 288. Under date of the 30th of June, 1617 : "*Sc.* 22:40 *a Cinzio Sabbatio recamatore per avere fatto sette arme del Papa col triregno et chiave, e sette del Po. Ro. recamate in oro . . ., messe nel parato di damasco nella stanza di Campidoglio dove si mangia d'inverno.*"

[8] "*Sc.* 300 *ad AnnibalePiuzzelli in conto a Maestro Ambrogio Pagano argentiere al Pellegrino per quando gli consegnerà i piatti d'argento che gli abbiamo ordinati nuovi, e quelli vecchi restaurati. Dal Campidoglio* 6 *Agosto* 1616." *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 275 : "*Sc.* 100 *ad Ambrogio Pagano argentiere al Pellegrino in conto dei piatti di argento fatti per il Campidoglio.*" 28th Sept., 1616, fol. 278.

The architect, at that date employed by the Roman people, was Giovanni Antonio de Pomis, of Como.[1]

Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. (1623–1644) the inside decoration of the Senatorial palace was proceeded with.[2]

His successor, Innocent X., signalised his advent to power by ordering the works of the third palace to be resumed; but, as he refused to help with the expenses incurred, the Communal Council were reduced to suppress most of the small posts



FIG. 39.—ENGRAVING TAKEN FROM THE WORK OF MARLIANUS.

created during the preceding half-century; to wit, those of the guardians of the statues and antique objects, of the bell-ringers and trumpeters, not to mention those of several important magistracies, that of the *pacieri*, of the syndics, of the reformers of studies, in short, as the chronicler says, nearly all the quarterly and even the annual posts. Alone, the Conservators and the *caporioni* continued in receipt of their salaries.[3] The

[1] He superintended the expenses incurred for the installation of the conclave of 1605. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi*, II. 6. It will be remembered that there was an exchange of land, in connection with this, between the Roman people and the Caffarelli family.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 118.

[3] "*Nel* 1644, *il papa* (*Innocento X*) *ordinò, che in Campidoglio incontro al palazzo dei Conservatori si facesse un portico, del quale erano gia da un pezzo fatti li fondamenti; ma per fare tale edificio non gli assegnò pure un quatrino. Furono levate le provisioni a molti, che avevano divers offizii, come custodi delle statue, delle fabriche antiche ed altri, che li avevano comprati con i suoi denari; furono annullati li offizii di Pacieri, Sindaci e Riformatori dello Studio, et simili*

classes even were suspended which were held for the benefit of the poor children in the fourteen quarters of the City, although the teachers only received thirty crowns a year.[1] But, while giving nothing towards the building of the new palace, Innocent X. took great interest in its progress. On the 9th of March, 1650, he came to ascertain what had been done. A statue was raised to him subsequently, beside that of Urban VIII., to commemorate this event.[2]

He came again on the 1st of August, 1654;[3] and an inscription placed in the room of the She-Wolf recorded the interest and the indirect share he had taken in the construction of the new palace.[4] On the latter occasion, the rubbish had been cleared away from the palace of the Conservators, and the hall had been put tidy "where the cannon requisites were kept" as well as the cannons themselves.[5]

Meanwhile, the penury of the Communal treasury was such that it had great difficulty in paying for the work to go on, the more so as the total expenditure exceeded eighty thousand crowns, of which the master mason, Ludovico Rossi, received, as his share, twenty-four thousand.[6] Carlo Rinaldi was the architect entrusted by the Council with the oversight of the undertaking.

The exterior portion was completed in 1655. Towards the last, the work had been pushed on vigorously, and the new palace was ready, when Pope Alexander VII., who was elected on the 7th of April, came, according to custom, to receive at the Capitol the City magistrates' homage. The Communal Council had had the Square cleared for the ceremony, the labour re-

altri offiziali che si creavano ogni anno, et ogni tre mesi et avevano le loro provisioni et massime li Marescialli, et restorno solo i Conservatori e Caporioni." *Diario di Giacinto Gigli*, Cod. Vat. 8717, p. 289. This suppression did not last long; some years after, the employees of the Capitol were more numerous than ever.

[1] Gigli. See note 4.

[2] "*Ai* 9 *Marzo* 1650, *dopo pranzo, Innocenzo X andò a s. Francesca in s. Maria Nuova, e poi salì al Campidoglio a vedere il portico nuovo, che era quasi finito dalla banda di Araceli. La sua statua fu alzata sopra un piedistallo di mattoni incontro a quella di Urbano VIII.*" *Ibid.* See p. 189.

[3] "*Il* 1 *Agosto* 1654 *alle ore* 21 *andò in Campidoglio per vedere il palazzo nuovo, che si è fabricato verso Araceli, et entro prima nel palazzo vecchio dei Conservatori e poi andò a vedere la fabrica nuova la quale si era fatta d'ordine suo, ma non gia dei suoi denari, perche non ha dato neppure un quatrino, ma con li emolumenti che si davano a molti offiziali Romani . . . et fù scemata la provisione dei Lettori della Sapienza, et levato affatto, il salario di scudi* 30 *l'anno che il Po. Ro. dava a ciascun Maestro di scuola, che erano quattordici, li quali maestri erano obligati d'insegnare le prime lettere colla grammatica alti poveri senza pagamento. Cosi furono levati gli emolumenti a molti gentiluomini per offizi comprati, li quali per un pezzo si dolsero e lamentarono.*" *Ibid.*

[4] Forcella, I. n. 152.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 1, fol. 177, 27 Sept.

[6] At least, such was the amount of the sums deposited for the purpose at the State pawn establishment during the years 1645–1655; exactly sc. 79,492:36. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 301 and following.

quired for the task being considerable,[1] since seventy-two cart-loads of rubbish were taken from it and thrown into the river.[2] At the same time, the cornices of the Senatorial palace were repaired, and the staircase and fountains, as well as the gaps in the balustrade. This was the usual accompaniment of public solemnities.

However, after this effort, the Council were not willing to do anything more, and contented themselves with strengthening the iron fastenings of the bells in the Campanile, an operation that cost 347:48 crowns (1566).[3]

In the palace courtyard, at the further end of which had been placed the statue of Marforio, are three inscriptions, two of them recording gifts made to the Capitoline museums by Alexander VII. and Clement XII.;[4] the third one is in honour of Gregory XVI.

The interior decoration of the new palace was commenced only in the pontificate of Clement X. (1670–1676). Walnut soffits were placed in the chief rooms. That of the great hall was decorated with the coat of arms of the then reigning Pope; in another were seen the arms of his predecessor, Alexander VII.; the expense amounted to 6,922:90 crowns.[5] It was during the reign of this Pope, in 1673, that the colossal head of Domitian was taken away from the place it had occupied for more than a century, under the portico of the palace of the Conservators, and transported into the inner courtyard, where it is at present.[6] In 1683, the staircase formerly leading to the prisons and now giving access to the municipal offices on the side towards the *Via Capitolina*, underwent some alteration; it only cost, indeed, 3:75 crowns, although rather a complicated job.[7] In 1689, it was found necessary to revarnish several of the frescoes painted by the Chevalier of Arpino, among others

[1] Although it had been forbidden to throw rubbish there. *Disposizioni edilizie circa la piazza di Campidoglio. Editto. Di Orazio Albani . . . Senatore di Roma. Ordiniamo che nessuna persona ardisca buttar sassi, fango el altre immondizie tanto attorno alla fontana di Marforio quanto in quella sulla piazza di Campidoglio sotto la scalinata, sotto pena di sc.* 25 *d applicarsi alla Camera di Campidoglio, e tre tatti di corda da darglisi subito in publico per ciascuna volta ed altre pene a nostro arbitrio.—Nessuno ardisca murare le parate fatte nella balaustrata del nostro Palazzo, sotto le dette pene.* Bibl. Casanat. Collez. Bandi, VI. 171.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 1, fol. 210. *Lavori fatti sulla piazza di Campidoglio in occasione del Possesso di N. S. Alessandro VII da Gio. Batta. Torrone Capo Mastro dell' Inclito Po. Romano.* Total expense, 59:20 crowns.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 1, fol. 219.

[4] They are the inscriptions mentioned by Forcella, n. 157, 231, 377.

[5] *Sommario delle misure e stime di lavori e legname, intagli, lavori di noce per porte, fenestre e soffitte del Salone e stanze della fabrica nuova di Campidoglio fatti a tutta roba e fattura del Signore Giovanni Bartolomei, e misurati da me infrascito architetto d'ordine del Cardinale Celsi.* (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI, vol. 4, fol. 16.)

[6] See p. 199, note 3, and p. 214.

[7] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 6, fol. 148.

those that represented the fight of the Horatii, the sacrifice of Numa, the foundation of Rome. From eight to twelve crowns were paid for each picture. In 1693, a cyma and a balustrade had to be replaced in the palace of the Conservators, the materials for which were taken from the Coliseum.[1] The work was supervised by Filippo Tittoni, the people's architect. In 1699, the Communal Council were informed that one of the towers of the Senatorial palace, that bearing the name of Nicholas V., which was nearest the Arch of Septimus Severus, had a serious crack in it. The tower was, at that time, said to be the most ancient. Commissaries went and examined the crack ; and they found that it must have existed for a long time. Nevertheless, as the Senator's dwelling was in the same part of the palace, the necessary repairs were decided on.[2]

Honorific Statues erected in the Seventeenth Century.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a decree had confirmed the prohibition then recently issued against raising statues to living princes.[3] The Councillors, however, were much annoyed at not being able to pay this favourite homage to sovereign pontiffs. When their meeting-chamber was decorated, they profited by the occasion to have the brass plate on which was engraven the text of the decree removed elsewhere ; it was placed above the door, far from public gaze; but the prohibition none the less existed. In 1626, they begged permission to suppress the plate altogether; but no heed was paid to their request.[4] Then they bethought themselves that, in order to triumph over a difficulty, there is no better way than to keep pegging away at it, and undermine it. They, therefore, asked the Pope to put up in the Capitol an inscription recording the services rendered by his nephew, Taddeo Barberini, the

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 7, fol. 193. *Conto di lavori di scarpello fatti da Antonio Ferretti capo Mastro Sarpellino e Gaspero Mellini Scarpellino del Po. Ro. nei Palazzi di detto Popolo.* *Ibid.*, vol. 8, fol. 196.

[2] *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 41, fol. 37, 38. It is seen by the inscription Forcella, I. n. 191, that Pope Innocent XII. took to himself the credit of a great share in the restoration of the Capitol.

[3] A little before it was promulgated, in 1602, a statue had been raised to Cardinal Aldobrandini. Inscription engraven on its base. Forcella, I. n. 109. In the preceding year an inscription had been put up in the great hall of the palace of the Conservators. Forcella, I. n. 108.

[4] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 23. Pope Urban VIII. had refused a statue which it was purposed to place in the church of S. Maria Aracoeli. *Diario di Giac. Gigli*, Cod. Vat., 8717, fol. 146.

prefect of the City (1631).[1] This was granted them. Being emboldened thereby, the Councillors represented to the sovereign pontiff "that a positive law could not detract from the law of nature commanding gratitude," and that it was cruel to oblige them to show themselves ungrateful, out of respect to a decree. The Pope allowed himself to be persuaded. In the sitting of the 23rd of June, 1634, they were able to vote, with his assent, the removal of the plate restraining the Councillors from the free exercise of their sentiments of gratitude.[2] Urban VIII., in consequence, had his statue, which was in brass.[3] As a matter of fact, two years before, the inhabitants of Velletri had sent to Rome a statue of the Pope, which they had modelled in order to thank him for raising to the cardinalate their fellow-citizen, Cardinal Mario Ginetti.[4] It seems, however, that there was some apprehension about the erection of the one awarded to him by the Council, since it was brought to the Capitol by night, and lighted by torches.[5] Innocent X., in turn, had his statue.[6]

In 1697, the Communal Council voted the erection of a statue to Pope Alexander VII., "in testimony of his merit and his beneficence towards the people." A Councillor proposed it should be in gold, as then only would it be worthy of its object; whereon another Councillor declared that, in diamond, and ornamented with jewels, it would still be unworthy. The Pope, with wit enough, replied that it sufficed him his image should be engraven in the hearts of his subjects. Nevertheless, they made him a statue, but of bronze.[7] Innocent XII. had his also, which was erected shortly after his accession, in 1692.[8] The installation of a statue took place with much pomp. It was clad in garments

[1] Brief of Urban VIII. "*Super licentia concessa Conservatoribus et Priori ponendi monimentum lapideum in Capitolio congratulationis Praefecturae Urbis per Sanctitatem suam collatae Exmo. D. Dno. Thadeo Barberino. Cum sicut dilecti filii . . . Rome XIX 9bris*, 1631." Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 94.

[2] "*De amovendo lapideo decreti monumento prohibens ne verba fiant de faciendis inscriptionibus, sive statuis erigendis viventi Principi, aut ejus sanguine coniunctis, illoque moderando alioque reponendo. Ex S. C. viva voce approbatum fuit.*" *Arch. Stor. Capit.*, Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 127.

[3] "*De statua Urbani VIII in Capitolio erigenda. Consiglio del* 18 *Giugno*, 1640. *Lecto decreto secreti Consilii de statua Urbani VIII in Capitolio erigenda. . . Decretum prefatum viva voce confirmatum comprobatumque fuit.*" *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 221. The Brief is in *ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 126, 127. Inscription engraven on the socle. Forcella, I. n. 126.

[4] *Diario di G. Gigli*, Cod. Vat., 8717, p. 132.

[5] *Diario di G. Gigli*, Cod. Vat., 8717, p. 204.

[6] Council meeting of the 18th of March, 1645. "*De statua aenea Innocentio X. Pont. Opt. Max. in Capitolio erigenda.*" Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 34, fol. 64. Inscription placed on the socle. Forcella, I. n. 142.

[7] Secret Council meeting of the 5th of April, 1657. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 34, fol. 184 and 187. Cf. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Notari della Camera dei Conservatori, vol. 4, fol. 99 and following. Inscription placed on the pedestal. Forcella, I. n. 157.

[8] With the inscription. Forcella, I. n. 191.

suitable to its rank, and magnificent in texture. All the nobility, the municipal magistrates, and the militia were invited; and it was received with salvoes of artillery, and to the sound of trumpets.[1]

The Popes at the Capitol.[2]

For the consecration of Leo XI. the triumphal arch, still placed at the same spot, was adorned with eight statues and the Pope's armorial bearings, the latter painted in gold by the artist Giuseppe d'Arpino, the Chevalier of Arpino (1605). For the consecration of Paul V., which took place a month after (17th of April—10th of May), the Romans made two arches. The first, set up near the church of the Gesu, was formed of pillars in imitation of yellow marble, terminated by capitals which were painted bronze colour. The second, set up near the Capitol, was composed of four pillars surmounted by gilded capitals. The people's coat of arms and statues were its decoration. In 1621, on the occasion of the coronation of Gregory XV., an arch in wood and canvas was built, which was supported by twelve fluted pillars of white and gold. On it were twenty stucco statues and allegorical paintings. After the accession of Urban VIII. (1623), panegyrical inscriptions always figured in the decorations ; and soon they were inserted lavishly. The two sphinxes, situated at the bottom of the grand staircase, spouted wine from their nostrils, which phenomenon became also one of the invariable elements in the decorations. When Innocent X. came to the Capitol, the Senator Orazio Albani, clad in his long toga, advanced towards him and kissed his foot ; then he offered him all the keys of the Capitol. At the same time, the new coinage, with the Pope's effigy on it, was distributed to the people, who crowded the Square and the approaches to the palace (1644).

The expenses of this ceremony grew so heavy for the people that Alexander VII. would not allow the Capitol to be decorated, when he paid his visit to receive the municipality's homage (1655).

The proceedings, however, recovered their magnificence, when Clement IX. was crowned. Not only was money distributed, while wine flowed abundantly, but bread was also given to the needy by the Conservators. The arch raised in honour of Clement X. was exceedingly costly ; fourteen

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 33, fol. 219 ; Cod. Vat. Lat., 7927, c. 103, 110 ; Cod. Casanatense, 983, p. iii.

[2] For general information, see Cancellieri, *Storia de Solenni Possessi*, Rome, 1822.

thousand leaves of gold were used to gild it, the price of which was 56 crowns; and the total expenses amounted to 221 crowns.[1] The new palace was decorated both inside and outside.[2]

The pause of the procession at the Capitol acquired more and more importance in the consecration ceremony. At the coronation of Clement XI., the imperial ambassador (representing

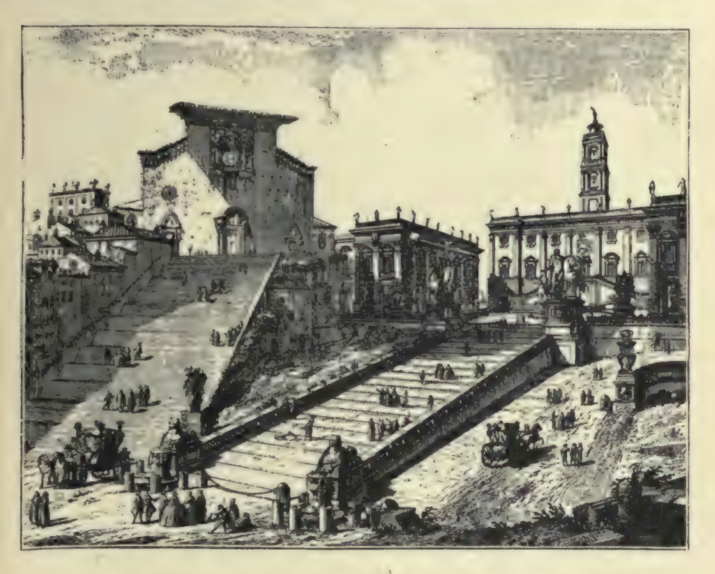


FIG. 40.—THE CAPITOL AND CHURCH OF S. MARIA ARACOELI. (FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE CABINET OF PRINTS.)

the Emperor of Germany) took his place at the bottom of the palace steps; and the Queen of Poland, the eccentric Maria Kasimire, was under a rich baldachin, at the middle window of the new palace; she wore a mask and uncovered herself only when the sovereign pontiff passed by (1700). For the coronation of Innocent XIII., the façade of the two palaces of the Conservators, and that of the Senator also, were adorned with

1 Archiv. Stor Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 4, fol. 28.

2 *Ibid.*, fol. 16. As the Commune possessed no baldachin, one was hired from the Colonna family; its carriage cost 20 bols. (*ibid.*, fol. 223).

statues representing the principal provinces belonging to the Papal States, the Emilian, the Sabine, those of Picenum and Umbria, of Bologna, Ferrara and Urbinum, together with the Comtat Venaissin.

The ceremony was continued in the following century with the same forms. The Senator, or, in default of him, one of the assessor judges conveyed to the Pope the Roman people's submission; and the Pope, after giving the people his benediction, pursued his journey to the Lateran. Sometimes the militia fired a salvo with their mortars, and the drums of the Senate rolled (1721). The palaces were illuminated for the consecration of Benedict XIII. (1724). The formula employed by Clement XIV., in 1769, when accepting the Senator's homage, was the following, which had become almost hieratic: "*Fidelitatem et obedientiam a te, nostre Urbis Senatore, Po. Ro. nomine, Nobis exhibitam, acceptamus, tibique nostram ap. benedictionem impartimur.*"

The Taking-possession of the Capitol by the Senators.

The same thing happened with regard to the taking-possession of the Capitol by the Senators newly appointed as with the reception of the Popes at their coronation. The ceremony, which in earlier times was very simple, subsequently became lavishly magnificent.

When Antonio of Grassis, surnamed Baccellieri, entered on his magistracy, he mounted to the Capitol, without any pomp whatsoever, as was customary, *sine ullo* (*nullo*) *honore ut more est* (1414).[1] In the ensuing century, things had considerably changed. Before taking office, Giulio Cesare Segni of Bologna went with a numerous procession to kiss the Pope's foot. Noblemen, fully armed, and bearing their shields, followed him, on fine steeds; and, in front of him, were carried the standards of the Capitol. After doing homage to the sovereign pontiff, he came to the Capitol and was duly installed in the magistracy that had been confided to his charge (28th of May, 1580).[2]

On the 12th of June, 1585, Giovanni Pelicano of Macerata made his first entry into the Capitol, escorted by six hundred horsemen, which was a sight that had never been seen before, says the narrator.[3]

However, the ceremony did not assume its definite character until the seventeenth century. The taking-possession by Gio.

[1] *Diario di Antonio Petri*; Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 1040, 1041.
[2] Cod. Vat. Urb., 1048, *ad an.* The text does not say what were the details in the taking-possession on this occasion.
[3] Cod. Vat. Urb., 1053, *ad an.*

Batta. Fenzonio was similar to the entry of an ambassador. Fenzonio presented himself at the Flaminian Gate, which is the *Del popolo* Gate of to-day, and went along the Corso through the whole of the City, on his way to the Capitol. Accompanying him was a pompous cavalcade (1616).[1] Baldo Massei of Camerino entered by the Pia Gate, went along the *Monte Cavallo* and the Corso, and approached the Capitol by the steps. His procession is minutely described by Gigli.[2] At the head came the *Artisti*.[3] In their joy to bear arms, which happened to them very seldom, in spite of their military organisaton, they fired off arquebusades all along the way, and made their drums rattle again. Their standard was borne amidst a group provided with pikes ; behind came the trumpeters and ten coaches, then the Pope's light horse, then ten saddle-horses led by the bridle, and, after these, a multitude of citizens surrounding the two red banners of the people. The Senator, clad in his gala costume, came last, escorted by mounted noblemen (1623).

Ten years later, in 1633, on the installation of Orazio Albani of Urbinum, the procession became a veritable triumph. It started from the *Monte Cavallo*, where the Senator had previously proceeded to do homage to the Pope and receive investiture in his office, and went along the whole of the Corso, before entering the Capitol. The people's militia, the *artisti*, marched in front ; they had plumes on, and their garments were striped with red and yellow ; they carried swords and arquebuses. Behind them, came a body of pikemen with a red standard, a body of arquebusiers with six drums, the light horse with their trumpets, thirty-six coaches, with the Senator's coat of arms, driven by red-liveried servitors, ten horses led by the bridle and wearing silk caparisons embroidered with the Senator's coat of arms. Next marched the trumpeters and drummers of the people, having in their midst two standards, bearing the City coat of arms, which were carried by mounted guards ; two pages on horseback held, the one the Senator's staff, the other his biretta. The Senator himself came after, clad in his gold brocade mantle and escorted by the Swiss guard. The City mortars saluted his arrival ; and the Conservators awaited him in the great hall, hung with tapestry, where he took the usual oath at their hands. The bells, meanwhile, rang out a full peal.[4]

[1] Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 116.

[2] *Diario di Giacinto Gigli*, Cod. Vat., 8717, p. 60 ; cf. p. 287.

[3] These *Artisti* were a militia called by this name because it was formed of artisans. It served as a guard to the *caporioni*, or heads of the various City wards ; but the men composing it were forbidden to bear arms except on parade, when the Holy See was vacant, and on the installation of the *caporioni*, who were changed every three months.

[4] Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 117 and following, for all that precedes.

The expense incurred by the Senator, on this occasion, was estimated at three thousand crowns. His costume alone, exclusive of the gold collar he must have worn round his neck, cost two hundred crowns. For this reason, it happened more than once, when the newly elected Senator was not a wealthy man, that the taking-possession was celebrated without pomp of any kind; for instance, in 1646 and 1655.[1]

The installation of the Senators, up to the year 1789, was marked by practically the same sort of ceremonial.[2]

On the 21st of June, 1718, Prince Tommaso Corsini took possession of the Capitol in the following manner. About four o'clock, he proceeded to the Quirinal privately, and there received, in the room called the hall of the congregations, the compliments of the various ambassadors, and of the chief Roman citizens, including the noblemen sent by the Cardinals to represent them. After, he accompanied the masters of the ceremony into the pontifical apartments. Being informed of his presence, Pius VII. issued from his own chamber, wearing a rochet and a bishop's camail, sat down on his throne, with the major-domo and the *Maestro di Camera* at his side, and received the oath of fidelity and obedience sworn by the Senator kneeling. Then, handing him the ivory sceptre, as a symbol of the Senatorial judiciary authority and power, he blessed him and withdrew. The Senator, thereupon, took his place in the cavalcade which should conduct him to the Capitol. At the head marched a picket of carbineers, on horseback, whose duty was to clear the way; then came the ambassadors' and foreign ministers' coaches, a brigade of firemen, with their captain on horseback, a battalion of grenadiers preceded by their drummers, the people's trumpeters and drummers, who formed a corporation, the captain of the militia of the Capitol, on horseback, with his adjutant and a group of non-commissioned officers; the militia of the fourteen City wards followed, bearing their standards and marching before the ten horses of the Senator and his twenty coaches; two squadrons of dragoons and two companies of carbineers escorted them; then there were the Cardinals' grooms, on horseback, and with the red hat on their shoulders, the runners of the Capitoline Curia and the

[1] Indeed, at this period, the Communal treasury was very poor. It will be remembered that, in this same year, 1655, Pope Alexander VII. permitted that there should be no decorations at his coronation. See p. 190.

[2] They are described in small pamphlets published after the ceremony. Canani, Giulio Cesare, *Descrizione della cavalcata fatta dal senatore di Roma Giulio Cesare Nigrelli*, Rome, 1662; *Esatta descrizione della cavalcata fatta il* 4 *Nov.*, 1691, *dal senatore di Roma marchese Ottavio Riario*, Rome, 1691; *Distinta Relazione della nobilissima cavalcata fatta in occasione del possesso del senatore di Roma Frangipane*, Rome, 1712, &c. For general information, see Cancellieri; Moroni, *Diz. di Erudiz.*, X. 312; *Diario del CHRACAS*, no. 3085, an. 1737.

Cardinals' gentlemen, the honorary chamberlains and the privy chamberlains both of sword and gown, on horseback; the Capitoline band of music and a mounted page with the Senator's portmanteau;[1] two other pages, one carrying the people's standard, the other, the Senator's; the captain of the Swiss guards, two other pages of the Senator, one with his biretta, the other with his staff; then, last of all, the Senator himself, in a red mantle with the gold collar round his neck; his horse was caparisoned with red velvet, some woofs of it being gold; and he was surrounded by the *fedeli* and the Swiss guard; while the first and second assessor judges, the auditor, and the various members of his tribunal made up his escort. On reaching the Square of the Capitol, the Senator first entered the church of S. Maria Aracoeli, where he prayed and offered four silver reliquaries, after which he proceeded to the great hall of the palace. The three Conservators and the prior of the *caporioni* had come to meet him as far as the end of the double staircase leading to the entrance. Tne *scriba senato* read aloud the Brief committing the magistracy to his charge, as well as the oath he was to swear to the people. Then the Senator descended from th tnrone on which he had sat himself, and, with bended knee, took the oath and touched the Gospels. This being performed, the first of the Conservators made him a speech, to which he replied; and the ceremony was concluded with a banquet. The Capitol was illuminated, fireworks were let off, and, for two days, the sphinxes, as was the custom, spouted wine from their nostrils.[2]

From the foregoing description it may be judged that the taking-possession by the Senators had singularly changed its character; and the Roman people, meagrely represented, figured in the ceremony only as a matter of form.

Festivities held in the Capitol in the Seventeenth Century.

The custom of giving theatrical performances in the Capitol, which, as has been seen, arose in the sixteenth century, became more frequent in the next one. These performances took place in the palace of the Conservators, on the occasion of the Carnival, and were generally interspersed with interludes, which were the *sine quâ non* of most theatrical plays of that time.[3]

[1] At Rome, from the Middle Ages, in all ceremonies of this kind, the portmanteau played a part. It was usually red, and, as belonging to the person in whose honour the fête was held, the carrying of it was a privilege.

[2] Moroni, *Diz. di Erud.*, X. 314.

[3] Cod. Vat. Urb., 1098, 16 Feb., 1628; cf. MS. Angelica, 325, *Diario, ad diem.*

The great personages who came to Rome did not fail to visit the Capitol, and were received there in state. Such visits were accompanied with festivities; and inscriptions were put up by the Municipality in commemoration of events of the kind. The Queen of Sweden had this honour, after the visit she paid to the Capitol, in 1656,[1] as did also the Queen of Poland, Maria Kasimire, in 1700.[2] The two commemorative tablets were placed, with busts, in the great hall of the Conservators. Other personages, less illustrious, were, as will be seen, so honoured in the following century.

Whenever a new ambassador made his entry into Rome, he never omitted going to the Capitol; and the Conservators returned his visit, clad in their purple robe. This was the case with the Duke of Parma's ambassador in 1669. The Capitoline magistrates received him at the top of the grand staircase; he visited the museum; and, a thing which was unprecedented, the bell of the Capitol was rung in his honour. As the Conservators possessed no coaches, they were obliged, in returning his visit, to borrow those of the "Constable," Prince Colonna.[3]

In 1686, a fête was given on the occasion of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Capitol was illuminated *per le allegrezze della Francia in occasione che sua Maestà scaccio l'Ugonotti dal suo Regno*; the expenses amounted to nearly five crowns.[4]

[1] Forcella, I. n. 156. The fixing of this tablet cost 121 crowns. The Conservators and the Council were careful to record in this inscription that they had received the Queen with their hats on. Six months' negotiations were needed to persuade her not to dispute with the Capitoline magistrates a privilege which they had long insisted on.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 200.

[3] The reference is to the Constable of Naples, husband to Marie Mancini. (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XI. vol. 22, fol. 71.) The Communal Council had refused to provide the Conservators with coaches, but had granted them horses in the sitting of the 7th of May, 1583. (*Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 163.) There was the same ceremonial in 1671 and 1695. (*Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 9, fol. 129.) Not until 1749 were the Conservators able to procure themselves coaches; and even then they were obliged to deduct from the fêtes fund the necessary money to pay off the bill, which amounted to six thousand crowns. The Pope ordered that for sixteen years the banquets should be suppressed which were given each time a new series of magistrates entered into office; these banquets cost 380 crowns. (Archivio Stor. Capit., Cred. VII. vol. 40, fol. 400.) The coach brought was gilded and covered with slate-blue velvet; but, as the Municipality had no coach-houses, it had to be housed at the Farnese palace with four others that were brought later from the Venetian ambassador. (*Ibid.*, fol. 404, 407.) Clement XIII. (1758) re-established the banquet-grant, but only in part; and the Conservators were obliged to wait for the pontificate of Pius VII., in 1804, to make as good cheer as they once did. (*Ibid.*, Cred. XVIII. vol. 32, fol. 205.)

[4] Bill of the expenses. (Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 6, fol. 232.) After comes the specification of the expenses incurred on the occasion of the peace of Buda. An inscription had been placed on the façade of the Senatorial palace at the time of the abjuration of Henry IV. Forcella, I. n. 104. Another inscription recorded the advice and the subsidies by which Pope Innocent V. had helped to defeat the Turks before Vienna. Forcella, I. n. 180.

Formation of the Capitoline Museums.

ORIGIN.

The definite establishment of the Capitoline museums took place in the seventeenth century; but their origin dates much farther back.[1]

In the Middle Ages, the Capitol possessed no other monument of antiquity than the marble lion which was used in executions and two funeral urns.[2] These latter had formerly contained the ashes of the first Agrippina, wife to Germanicus, and of her eldest son, Nero Caesar, both of whom had died in exile, and whose bodies had been brought back to Rome and placed, by order of Caligula, in the family mausoleum of Augustus. Owing to a strange concurrence of circumstances, these urns were brought together to the Capitol, at a date unknown, but anterior to the fourteenth century, in order to be used as measures of capacity.[3] It was perhaps about the time

[1] A. Michaelis has devoted a thorough study to the Capitoline museums, *Storia della collezione capitolina di antichità fino all' inaugurazione del museo* (1784), in the *Mittheilungen des K. Deutschen archeol. Instituts, Roemische Abtheilung*, B. VI. Rome, 1891. See also: Ulisse Aldroandi or Aldrovandi, *Delle Statue antiche*, p. 168; Boissard, *Romanae Urbis Topog. et Antiquitates*, Frankfort, 1507–1602; *Museo Capitolino, per cura di* Giovanni Bottari and Nicola Foggini, Rome, 1741–1782; 348 engravings; Campiglia, *Museum Capitolinum*, Rome, 1750–1755, 3 vols. in fol.; the Count de Clarac, *Museum of Sculpture* (in French), Paris, 1841; Gaddi, *Museo Capitolino*, 1750, 4to; 1775, 8vo; B. Gamucci, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma*, 1580, fol. 20, v.; Francesco Eugenio Guasco, *Musei Capitolini Antiquae Inscriptiones*, Rome, 1775; Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen Klas. Altertümer in Rom*. Leipzig, 1st edit., 1891, translated into French by J. Toutain, Leipzig, 1893; 2nd edit., 1899; Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 77 and following; G. Locatelli, *Museo capitolina o sia Descrizione delle statue* . . . Rome, 1771; Lucio Mauro, *Le Antichità de la Città di Roma*, 1556, p. 11; Montagnani-Mirabili, Pietro Paolo, *Il Museo Capitolino*, Rome, 1828; Mosi, *Scultore del Museo Capitolino*, 1806; Müntz, *The Museum of the Capitol and the other Roman collections* (in French), Paris, 1882; Righetti, *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, Rome, 1833; Agostino Tofanelli, *Indicazione delle sculture e pitture di Campidoglio*, Rome, 1825; French edition published by his son in 1821 and 1835; Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie di Varie Antichità . . . nell' anno* 1594, Rome, 1704, being a sequel to the *Roma antica* of Nardini, Rome, 1704; Andrea di Vaccaria, *Ornamenti di Fabriche*, 1600; S. Wood, *The Capitoline Museum of Sculpture*, London, 1872; *Descrizione delle statue bassirilievi . . . che si custodiscono ne' Pallazzi di Campidoglio*, Rome, 1775; British Museum, under the catalogue heading 7807, a, 8, with notes, MS.; *Nuova Descriz. del Museo Capitolino compilata per cura della Com. Arch.*, 1882. The last catalogue of the Museum of the Capitol dates back to 1888. None exists for the Museum of the Conservators. At present, indeed, these two museums are being overhauled; that of the Conservators has been turned upside down. See R. Lanciani, *Il Nuovo Ordinamento del Museo nel Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Rome, 1904.

[2] Poggio said that, in his time, there existed only six ancient statues in Rome. On the contrary, Petrarch had seen "innumerable ones." M. de Clarac, t. III., endeavours to throw light on this contradiction, which may be explained more by the turn of mind of the two writers than by reality.

[3] In a description of Rome, *Descriptio urbis Romae ejusque excellentia*, composed between 1344 and 1347, and wrongly attributed to Cola di Rienzo (Cod.

when a market was established on the Square. The archaic character of the inscription engraven on the bottom part, RVGITELLA DE GRANO, confirms this hypothesis.[1] On one side of one of the urns, there was carved, about the fourteenth century, the effigy of a soldier of the Roman militia, the *pavestore*. It is the only representation that has come down to us of their accoutrement. Other standard measures were also in the Capitol; those for oil and wine among them.[2] There was, besides, a measure on which were placed the fish that arrived at the market; those that were longer than the measure had the head cut off, and the head belonged by right to the Conservators.[3]

In the seventeenth century, a long inscription, surrounded with the armorial bearings of the magistrates in office, was engraven on the pedestal that supported the urns at that time.[4]

Owing to a confusion that was bound to occur, the people thought one of these urns had contained the remains of the Emperor Nero, instead of those of Nero Caesar. Later, when the urns were no longer used as measures, they were placed, as curiosities, in the inner courtyard of the palace of the Conservators, and were both of them still there, in the middle of the sixteenth century. To-day Agrippina's urn alone is visible, at the entrance to the staircase of the archives; the other has disappeared.[5] The wine and oil measures are on the landing of the first flight of stairs in the palace of the Conservators, and the linear measures are in the staircase of the bell-tower.

Chig. I., VI. 204), we read: *Alio lapide marmoreo sito in pede Capitolii, portati de sepulcro Augustorum . . . et ordinato pro mensuris.* See history of this MS. in the *Bull. dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, an. 1871, p. 14 and following.

[1] Michaelis, *La Collezione Capitolina*, p. 10. As regards the estimation of this measure of capacity, we read in the *Summa de Arithmetica* of Luca Pacioli, quoted by Müntz in *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), Innocent VIII., p. 289: "*Grano vi si vende a rugghio che fa in Genoa mine una e sette ottavi e in Fiorenza staia otto e tre quarti.*"

[2] Forcella, I. n. 7, 8, 10; inscriptions in archaic characters: COG. VINI, COG. OLEI.

[3] Statutes of 1519, Bk. I., art. 33, recording an analogous order contained in the preceding statutes; Bk. III., art. 146, in the statutes of 1363; Bk. III., art. 166, in those of 1469; Bk. III., art. 67, in those of 1580. Above the standard measure placed in the first room of the palace of the Conservators could be read the inscription quoted by Forcella, I. n. 75. Later, the profit of this custom was transferred by Pope Urban VIII. to his nephew, Taddeo Barberini. *Gigli*, Cod. Vat., 8717, p. 211. Cf. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 70. The Republic of 1798 suppressed this singular tax, which was re-established in 1817. Moroni, *Diz. di Erudiz.*, LXIV. 57, and LXXXIV. 200; Fea, p. 227.

[4] Forcella, I. n. 130. Aldrovandi, pp. 270, 271, has transcribed the two inscriptions on the urns.

[5] Aldrovandi, who wrote about 1550, and Boisseau, who made a stay in Rome a little later, saw them. (J. J. Boissard, *Romanae Urbis Topog. et Antiq.*, 1597–1602.) Cf. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 22.

The Capitol appears, therefore, to have been very poor in antiquities, when Pope Sixtus IV. presented the palace of the Conservators with a series of statues, of diverse origin, that became the nucleus and the ornament of the Capitoline collection, a gift which entitles him to be considered the founder of it.[1] Among them was the bronze She-Wolf, which the Communal Council are said to have had placed above the entrance to the palace. The famous statue of the Thorn-drawer was another,[2] as also the colossal head of Nero,[3] and a hand holding a globe, which was supposed to be a fragment of a statue of Samson.[4] Then there were a statue, held to represent a Zingara and which is perhaps a Camillus, and another statue, in gilded bronze, representing Hercules, which had just been discovered, during the demolition of the Ara Massima, near the Maximian Circus.[5] This statue was placed in the palace courtyard, on the right,[6] and was then on a very high square socle, and was surrounded with fragments of colossal statues. The gift also

[1] It was a gift and not a restitution, as Gregorovius wrote, IV. 196. Platina, who cannot be suspected of exaggeration in praising the Popes, says in the life of Paul II. (Bibl. Casanatense, Inc. 661, c. 235): "*Quippe qui statuas veterum undique ex tota urbe conquisitas in suas illas aedes quas sub Capitolio construebat, congereret.*" Cf. Canesio, *Vita di Paolo II*, and *Pauli II Veneti Pont. Max. Gesta vindiata et illustrata a* Card. Aug. Mar. Quirini, Rome, 1740. Too literal a meaning must not be assigned to the word *restituendas* employed in the inscription mentioned lower down; the people there are considered as being, in ancient times, the possessors of all the riches existing in Rome; these statues belonged to them, therefore, by right, just as all those which might be found in Roman territory. Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes* (in French), Paris, 1892, IV. 427. There was still in the Capitoline hill, at this date, in a sort of crypt, the Mythriac bass-relief which is to-day at the Louvre; Flaminio Vacca saw it about 1594: "*Mi ricordo aver vista una buca, come una voragine. . . .*" Smetius says (1545): "*Romae, sub Ara Coeli, templum subterraneum est ubi Mithrae simulacrum est. . . .*" According to Pignoria (1606) the bass-relief existed, for a time, on the Square, but this is doubtful; subsequently it was removed to the Borghese villa.

[2] The discovery of this statue dated back apparently a great many years, for when competition was invited for the doors of the Florence baptistery, 1402–1403, Brunellescho used it in modelling the figure of one of Abraham's servitors, a fact which is remarked by Cicognara (Michaelis, p. 15). For a time it was considered to represent Mars. See Prospettivo, p. 196, note 3, and Forcella, I. n. 111 (1611); Helbig, I. 617.

[3] According to Valesio, an inscription was placed on the base that supported this head, when it was put inside the palace, beside the other colossal head of marble supposed to be that of Augustus. See Forcella, I. n. 106 and n. 110.

[4] Stevenson, p. 131. Like the She-Wolf, it came from the Lateran. According to Vacca, this colossal head and this colossal hand came from the Coliseum, to which they had given its name. Vacca, *Memorie di varie Antichità*, Rome, 1594, n. 71.

[5] With regard to the displacements of this statue, see further on, pp. 205, 206. In 1816 it was in the saloon. Tofanelli, p. 86. De Rossi, *Mon. Ann.* and *Bull. de Inst.*, 1854. Michaelis, p. 16, gives and comments on the inscription recording the gift made by the Pope, of which only an altered copy exists. Cf. Müntz, *The Arts and the Court of the Popes* (in French), III. 170. Helbig, I. 612, 614. As to the Camillus, see Helbig, I. 607; Tofanelli, p. 173. Inscription of 1641. Forcella, I. 140.

[6] "*Limina prima patent custode sub Hercule tuta, Aenus ad dextram qui marmore prominet alto.*" Fulvio, quoted by Michaelis, p. 16. Fulvio, ed. 1543, fol. 51, v.

comprised a statue of Charles of Anjou, which, after being for a while relegated to a dark corner, was subsequently put in a prominent position.[1] The inauguration of this collection, which likewise included other objects of less importance, together with a considerable number of fragments,[2] was celebrated with a certain solemnity, on the 14th of December, 1471. An inscription recorded the Pope's generosity.[3]

Other antique monuments soon came to keep these first statues company, such as a votive altar dedicated to Hercules, which had been found, like the statue, in the Ara Massima, and which was placed beside the urns of Nero and Agrippina; the basis of the *vicomagistri*, which were arranged near the colossal head of Domitian (14th of December, 1471).[4] In the pontificate of Innocent VIII. (1484–1492), a colossal head was brought to the Capitol, as well as the foot and hand of a marble statue of large size, supposed to be that of Apollo, which had been discovered near the so-called temple of Peace.[5]

The Milanese painter Prospettivo, who was the author of a verse narrative of a journey which he made to Rome, about 1500, enumerates the statues in the Capitoline museum at that time; he mentions the statue of Hercules, the fragments of the colossus, the Camillus, the Thorn-drawer . . .[6]

Bembo, who was in Rome about the same date, hardly noticed anything except the Thorn-drawer, which he saw beside another brazen statue. ". . . *In cuius quasdam conclave spectantur geminae statuae aeneae antiquissimae columnulis insidentes.*

[1] Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes*, III. 171. It bore an inscription; cf. Forcella, I. 20, which mentions its disappearance. However, it is to-day in the courtyard of the palace of the Conservators, and, in the time of Nibby (*Roma moderna*, p. II. 615), it was in the great hall.

[2] Among others, a bust supposed to be that of M. Junius Brutus. Perhaps, Helbig, I. 522. Cf. Tofanelli, p. 51; Forcella, I. n. 54; and Lanciani, *Scavi*, I. 76.

[3] In the palace of the Conservators; the Anonymous Writer saw it: "*In aula conservatorum in camera ubi statuae observantur.*" Forcella, I. n. 16. Concerning the Anonymous Writer, see Forcella, I. n. 11.

[4] Lanciani, *Storia dei Scavi di Roma*, p. 76. These bases bore a dedication to Hadrian (C.I.L., VI. 975); room of the Canopus, n. 42. Cf. Tofanelli, p. 138, and Fea, p. 225. Cf. another base, portico, n. 30. They had been known since the time of Ciriaco of Ancona, who died in 1459. The altar to Hercules, on which is engraven an inscription (Forcella, I. n. 91), is in the portico of the new museum, n. 6. Together with these objects, were brought votive tablets to Hercules (C.I.L., VI. 312–318), which went through many vicissitudes. Numbers 314, 317, and 318 are lost. Michaelis, note 47; Lanciani, *Scavi*, I. 76.

[5] Michaelis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17, 18; Forcella, I. n. 127, 132; Tofanelli, p. 136. In reality, Apollo's statue, erected by Lucullus, was in bronze. Montagnani, p. 129, reproduces the head. Tofanelli, p. 138, says it belongs to a statue of Domitian; Helbig, I. 536, to a statue of Augustus. Other fragments, a knee, a heel, an arm, a foot, were added later to these, and are in the same spot.

[6] Casanatense Library, early print, 1669, reprinted by Govi in the *Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, Ser. II. vol. III. (1875–1876), parte III. p. 39, and published separately under the title *Intorno a un opusculo* . . . Rome, 1876, p. 51.

Sed una nobilior et absolutior puer scilicet nudatus sedens dextra manu sinistrae plantae spinam extrahens . . ."[1]

Albertini,[2] who wrote in 1509, and who enumerates the artistic riches which the Capitol contained in his time, adds to the colossal head and the colossal hand also a foot in bronze.[3]



FIG. 41.—INNER COURTYARD OF THE PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORS.

He mentions besides : "*alia quamplurima Ro. monimenta cum duabus pulcherrimis tabulis lucentibus mirae pulchritudinis et artificii.*"[4] These *tabulae* are fragments of two sarcophagi, one of which represents the symbolic figures of the four seasons,

[1] Quoted by Müntz, *The Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French).
[2] *Opusculum de Mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1510.
[3] Fulvio, *Antiquit.*, and Aldrovandi likewise mention it.
[4] Fol. 61, quoted by Michaelis, p. 20.

with the door of the temple of Janus in the centre; the other, the flight of Achilles and Penthesilea.[1] The former of these two sarcophagi is still in the Capitol, in the room of the She-Wolf; the other has been removed to the Pamfili villa. About the same time, three fragments of a bass-relief were put in the Capitol, representing a sacrifice offered at the entrance to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The personages composing it seem to be of the century of Trajan.[2] As for the *quamplurima monimenta*, the reference must be to the bass-reliefs and inscriptions which, from that date, the Capitol began to possess in great number.[3] Their abundance struck the Venetian ambassadors who came to Rome in 1523. Briefly relating their visit to the Capitol, in a report to the Senate, they wrote that they saw there: "*Un infinita quantità di figure marmoree e di bronzo le più belle et famose del mondo.*"[4] The Communal Council augmented their collections in every way possible; and, if need were, by force. Thus, in 1525, they took from the S. Martina Church the three bass-reliefs representing the life of Marcus Aurelius, without being willing to give anything in compensation to the fabric of the church.[5]

More and more, the Capitol became a museum of inscriptions, antiquities and curiosities,[6] whilst the Belvedere, at the Vatican, was reserved for masterpieces, marble statues, and all that charmed the sight by the perfection of its art. The Popes sent to the Capitol the objects that did not seem to them likely to embellish their abode. Thus, Leo X. abandoned to the

[1] Aldrovandi, p. 271, describes them in such a way as to leave no doubt with regard to their identification; "*Entrando nella casa de' Conservatori si truova sotto al portico che è da mandritta una tavola di marmo, attacata al muro con bellissime figure iscolpite nel cui mezo e como una porta, dure di morius che para, che s'apra, Vi è anco un altra tavola marmorea che ha in se scolpite genti e cavalli, che par che combattono.*" Tofanelli, p. 145; Fea, p. 2:8. It was removed into the room of the She-Wolf about the end of the sixteenth century. Michaelis, p. 47; Tofanelli, p. 145.

[2] Cf. Audollent, *Miscellany of Archaeol. and Hist.* (in French), 1889, p. 120; Michaelis, p. 20; Huelsen, *Topog. der Stadt Rom*, in *Mittheilungen Arch. Inst.*, Rome, 1889, p. 249. Two of these fragments were removed later to the Borghese collection and now belong to the Louvre, where they have been put together; as for the third, which represented the frontispiece of the temple, it has disappeared.

[3] Fichard, *Franckfurtische Archiv.*, 1536, quoted by Michaelis, p. 20, n. 57, speaks of "*Alia plura marmorea signa circumquaque in inferiori parte palatii huius posita sed quae in tanta copia non curantur.*" Marliani makes plain what these *signa* were by saying "*parietibus inclusa.*" (Fol. 21, v. ed. 1588.)

[4] Alberi, *Relazioni degli Amb. Veneti al Senato*, Ser. II. t. III. 108.

[5] *Arch. Stor. Capit.*, Cred. I. vol. 15, fol. 139. Sitting of the 29th of March, 1524. Cf. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, II. 143, and *Corpus Insc. Lat.*, VI. 1014; Lanciani, *Destruction of Rome*, p. 231; Helbig, I. 544, 546. Aldrovandi describes them, p. 271, as well as Fulvio, *Antiq. Urbis Romae*, written in 1513, published in 1527. Rigletti reproduces them, pp. 164 to 168. They are now in the staircase of the palace of the Conservators.

[6] Andrea Fulvius, *Antiquitates Urbis*, fol. 20, v. Cf. the poem quoted by E. Müntz, *The Museum of the Capitol* (in French), p. 7.

Capitoline museum the two river figures, which were placed on either side of the palace of the Conservators.[1]



FIG. 42.—THE MARZIO OR THORN-DRAWER.

By the side of these two statues, in the middle of the century, were the fragments of the colossus, at least, the hand holding a

[1] See what is said of these two groups, p. 125.

globe;[1] it had, no doubt, been put there to show that the Conservators, who were striving to get themselves assimilated to the consuls, held the sovereign power. With these exceptions, there was a gradual removal to the palace of all the pieces of antique sculpture which had previously ornamented its approaches. The She-Wolf was placed in a room on the side towards the City, which became the chief chamber, the grand saloon of the palace.[2] Its walls were hung with brocade on special occasions. The gilded Hercules was taken from its pedestal in the courtyard and transferred to the votive altar dedicated to Hercules the Vanquisher.[3] Beside it was a statue of the god Pan, much mutilated.[4] The group of the horse and the lion was deemed in this period to have been brought to the Capitol during the pontificate of Paul III., by the care of Latino Juvenal, "*maestro di strada*," who had discovered it near the S. Paolo Gate, in a marsh.[5]

A sphinx had been removed into the courtyard beside the group of the lion;[6] another was in another courtyard beside the cynocephalus in hard stone, which, as the sphinx, came from the church of S. Stefano del Cacco.[7] Of the three statues representing Constantine the Great and his son, one had been placed on the staircase leading to Mount Caprino; the second, on the one opposite it and leading to the Aracoeli church; the third, in the museum.[8]

Aldrovandi (1550) gives a description of the Capitoline

1 The globe has disappeared; it might have been this one which was placed at the top of the milestone. Michaelis, n. 184.

2 "*In porticu interiori prope aulam.*" Aldrovandi, p. 275; cf. Andrea Fulvio, ed. 1543, fol. 51. Marliani had already seen it there in 1544. Stevenson, *Annali dell' Istituto archeologico*, an. 1877, p. 375 and foll., speaks at length of the She-Wolf and the colossal hand brought, with that of the Lateran, to the Capitol.

3 *Corpus Insc. Lat.*, VI. 328; Michaelis, p. 30; Forcella, I. n. 41.

4 With the inscriptions. Forcella, I. n. 131. Inscription of the year 1636. The reference is to the satyr mentioned by Aldrovandi. See Michaelis, p. 27; Tofanelli, p. 12; Helbig, I. 403; Court, n. 5, 23.

5 Vacca, *Memorie di varie Antichità*, no. 70.

6 Aldrovandi, p. 273; Boissard, III. 100; Marliani, ed. 1588, fol. 21, v.

7 Boissard, III. *Antiquit.*, p. III. no. 100, gives the reproduction of the sphinxes. They were removed, together with the ape, from the Capitol to the Vatican when Gregory XVI. founded there the Egyptian museum (1838). An inscription placed in the room, called the Urn Room, records this fact. Forcella, I. 254. Cf. Pistolesi, Erasmo, *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato*, Rome, 1838, vol. VIII. p. 138, and pl. 145 and following. At present, room II. The lines which figure in the portico (Capitoline museum), nn. 32, 33, were brought there in 1833. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.*, 1883.

8 Michaelis, p. 51. Biondo, *Roma Inst.*, II. 19, quotes three, as also Aldrovandi, p. 268: "*Dinanzi la porta di Araceli si veggono due statue di Costantino Imp. vestite; . . . sono armate à l'antica con un bastone in mano: un altra statua di Costantino medesimamente si vede su la Ripe Tarpeia.*" Marliani, ed. 1544, p. 27; L. Fauno, fol. 32, mention only two. Cf. Fichard, p. 41. They had been found in the thermae of Constantine, of which the Cardinal achieved the destruction, under the pontificate of Paul V. Novaes, vol. XIII. 297. See p. 142, and further on, p. 209.

collection, after these modifications and additions. He mentions, as being in the palace courtyard, a naked Apollo with a headless dog,[1] and a robed woman; in another courtyard, the sphinx and the ape, the head bearing the name of Commodus, and a few other remains. Inside the palace were the Thorn-drawer, the Zingara (Camillus), a head of Hadrian, the She-Wolf, a marble Satyr with he-goat's feet, naked and tied to a tree, a child Bacchus, a statue of Hadrian as a child, a half-naked woman in bronze, a headless man holding a hammer in his hand, a robed woman sitting.[2] This shows that the museum was beginning to acquire importance and possessed precious objects, both in bronzes and in marble statues.[3]

Paul III. gave a Minerva (1541), which was subsequently placed on a socle, by the instructions of Pope Gregory XIII.[4] The Consular Fasti, discovered in August, 1546, and almost immediately offered to the Roman people by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, had been let into the courtyard wall, opposite the entrance.[5] The bass-relief of Mettius Curtius was put in the Capitol in 1553.[6] Pius IV. gave a statue of a man sitting, which was then called Aristides of Smyrna.[7]

The museum was increased with forced as well as with voluntary gifts. In 1526, for instance, Alessandro Rufini, Bishop of Melfi, having guaranteed to the Commune the reimbursement of two thousand crowns advanced by the latter towards the rebuilding of the Ponte S. Maria (Ponte Rotto), in case the work should fail, and not being able to repay more more than 640 crowns, was compelled to give, in lieu of the remaining balance,

1 Endymion, portico, n. 1 (?); Michaelis, note 89; Fea, p. 189. Tofanelli, p. 13, gives another origin.

2 Hadrian's head, gallery, n. 36; Satyr, room of the sarcophagus of Alexander Severus, n. 20; Bacchus, gallery, n. 58 (?); child Hadrian, *ibid.*, n. 28; woman sitting, perhaps the statue named Agrippina (Helbig, I. 466), room of the Emperors, n. 84. The other statues, notably tbe man with the hammer, have disappeared.

3 Ulisse Aldrovandi or Aldroandi, composed, in 1550, his book, *Delle Statue Antiche di Roma*, which was printed at Venice in 1556. Lucio Mauro, ed. 1556, p. 11, mentions only the She-Wolf, the river-gods, the fragments of the colossus, the gilded Hercules, a naked shepherd, a satyr, and, he says, a quantity of statues in bad condition. Gamucci, 2nd edition, 1580, fol. 200, mentions the same objects, or nearly so; in the first room, he mentions, as being fixed to the wall, the colossal head found near the so-called temple of Peace. Marliani mentions only a satyr: *Statua aenea satyri pulcherrima et quaedam alia deorum simulacra*, fol. 21. Fol. 22, v.: the Thorn-drawer, a slave, a naked child sitting.

4 Forcella, I. n. 71; cf. n. 43. Inscription of 1541, 2nd half year; Michaelis, p. 32; Tofanelli, p. 13. At present, portico, n. 4. This is the one which was placed for a time, as has been said, in the niche under the staircase.

5 "*Attacata al muro in capo del cortiglio.*" Aldrovandi, p. 271. Cf. L. Fauno, *De Antiq.*, 1549. Forcella, I. 1, gives the text of these Fasti. In 1586, an inscription was placed in the room where they were. Forcella, I. n. 88.

6 Helbig, I. 548. Courtyard of the palace of the Conservators.

7 Forcella, I. n. 52. Cf. Righetti, 146. It was given as compensation for a real Aristides assigned to the Vatican (Michaelis, p. 34); gallery, n. 58. With regard to the statue of the Vatican, Montagnani, III. 58. There is a bust of Aristides pointed out by Righetti, n. 211, in the room of the Philosophers, n. 9.

two large statues of Julius Caesar and Augustus. At present, these form part of the museum of the Conservators.[1] In 1564, the Cardinal of Carpi[2] bequeathed to the museum the bust of L. Junius Brutus.[3]

Elected on the 7th of January, 1566, Pius V., on the 11th of February, presented the Capitol with about thirty statues and a large number of busts and bass-reliefs that his predecessor, Pius IV., had collected at the Vatican, to adorn the Belvedere. This great haste was the effect not so much of the interest the new pontiff felt for the Capitoline museum as of the aversion inspired in his holy austerity by these symbols of paganism. On the 27th of February, the statues were removed to the Capitol.[4] Thirty *facchini* were required for the task, one for each statue. On the other hand, the people undertook to have a mass celebrated on the Pope's behalf for ever, in the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas.[5]

The Pope had intended the gift to be still more considerable; and all the statues contained in the Belvedere would have been transported to the Capitol,[6] if unknown circumstances had not prevented the deed. Certain of the statues that remained at the Vatican were hidden behind planks, which shows that the Pope, unable to get rid of them at the moment, insisted on at least putting them out of sight. More of them were removed to the Capitol under the succeeding pontiffs that were inspired with the ideas of Pius V.[7]

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 37, fol. 134. Cf. Helbig, nn. 534, 535. The second statue really represents a naval commander. Inscriptions placed on the socles. Forcella, I. nn. 56, 57.

[2] Ridolfo Pio di Carpi.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 37, fol. 179. Cf. Michaelis, p. 34; Visconti, *Iconogr.*, Rome, I. pl. 2; Helbig. I, 610; Forcella, I. 54. It was among the objects sent by Bonaparte to Paris. Tofanelli, p. 146.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 227.

[5] Cod. Vat. Urb., 1040 (avvisi), fol. 182.

[6] Bicci, *Notizia della famiglia Boccapaduli*, p. 114, gives the *Inventario delle figure donate da N. S. Pio V al Popolo Romano*, which comprises other statues. However, the following inscription which he quotes shows that the statues removed were really thirty in number:

MAGISTR. POPVLIQ. RO.
PII. V. PONT. MAX.
XXX STATVARVM MARM. DONO
ORNATI
PVBLICVM AETERNVMQ.
GRATI. ANIMI
TESTIMONIVM.

Bicci, *loc. cit.*, p. 117, note; Forcella, I. n. 62. Cf. Michaelis, p. 37, who discusses the nomenclature given by Bicci.

[7] Michaelis, p. 42, thinks it was in the pontificate of Gregory XIII., or of Sixtus V., that the other statues figuring in the Vatican, and notably in the Belvedere, went to the Capitoline museum, at least in part. At any rate, the transfer was made slowly. Pighio (*Pighius Hercules Prodicius*, Antwerp, 1587, p. 390) found the theatre, in 1574, ornamented with a quantity of marble statues. The Reims sculptor, Pierre Jacques,

Among the statues that went from the Vatican to the Capitoline museum were a Genius, a Muse representing Comedy, a headless goddess of Fortune, a group of Agrippina and Nero, four children, a river-god, the busts of Claudius, Antony, Faustina, Tiberius, Alexander, a Polyphemus with a companion of Ulysses, an old woman in a recoiling attitude, a girl with a bird, a Bacchus and an Apollo, the statue of Chastity.[1]

In 1568, there was an exchange of statues between the Cardinal of Ferrara, Luigi d'Este, and the Roman people. The Cardinal was then building on the Quirinal the villa that Pope Sixtus V. subsequently bought, and that became the ordinary residence of the sovereign pontiffs. He had remarked, in the Capitoline collection, three small statues, "capable of being used as water-jets," a nymph on a dolphin, a sleeping Venus, half-naked, a Neptune with a sleeping dolphin at his feet; and he wished to ornament with them the garden surrounding his villa. He, therefore, asked the Communal Council to let him have these three statues, proposing in exchange a colossal statue of the Emperor Tiberius, "whose head was antique and of finished workmanship," and which, he said, was perfectly suitable for the site it was to occupy. The Council designated

designed at the Vatican, between 1572 and 1576, the bass-relief of Zethos and Amphion which figured on the inventory of the objects given (*Miscellany of Archaeology and History*, 1890, p. 200 (in French). Cavallieri mentions about the same date twelve statues as being *in Vaticano viridario*, some of which subsequently formed part of the Capitoline collections (I. II. 17, 18; Capitol, tav. 8, n. 113, n. 6, quoted by Michaelis, note 124). Contarino (*L'Antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1575), who almost textually reproduces Aldrovandi, it is true, does not mention these statues at the Capitol. They were only brought there later, therefore. Sixtus V. was perhaps the Pope who achieved the work of Pius V., to the profit of the Capitol. "Hardly could he tolerate at the Vatican the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere," says Ranke (French translation, Paris, 1844, II. 126). "He would not tolerate at the Capitol the antique statues which had been placed there by the citizens of Rome. He declared he would demolish the Capitol, if they were not taken away. These statues were a Jupiter the thunderer, between Minerva and Apollo. Two of these statues had, in fact, to be removed. Minerva alone was left. But Sixtus required that she should represent Rome, and even Christian Rome. He deprived her of the lance she held, and put a huge cross in her hand." Cf. *Description of Rome*, by Bunsen, I. 702. Sixtus V. was not fond of the arts, but there was no harshness in his attitude. Yet Righetti confirms that, at the time of the transformations he made in the Vatican, several statues were taken away from the place they occupied and given to the people. Michaelis, p. 42. See what has been said above about the taking away, by order of Sixtus V., of the statues ornamenting the bell-tower, p. 151, note 1.

[1] Inscription commemorating this gift: Forcella, I. n. 61. Genius: Helbig. I. 501. Michaelis says it was lost. Muse (Thalia?): Tofanelli, p. 139; Michaelis, p. 37; palace of the Conservators, staircase. Goddess of Fortune, saloon, n. 23 (?). The group does not represent Agrippina and Nero; in the time of Fea (see *Nuova Descriz.*, p. 202) it was in the room of the Doves; to-day, gallery, n. 56. Cf. Tofanelli, p. 48. The transfer was made then. River-god, perhaps on the sarcophagus representing the birth of Bacchus, gallery, n. 46. Busts of Claudius, room of the Emperors, n. 12 (?); of Antony, gallery, n. 26; of Faustina, room of the Emperors, n. 36 or 39; of Tiberius, gallery, n. 24; Alexander, room of the Gladiator, n. 3. Polyphemus, portico, n. 35; old woman, saloon, n. 22. Girl, room of the Gladiator, n. 9. Bacchus and Apollo: Montagnani, I. pl. XX., XLVIII. The Bacchus was given in the time of Sixtus V.: Righetti, I. pl. LXIX. Chastity, saloon, n. 15. Cf. Helbig, I. 409, 508, 526, 531.

commissaries, who were less convinced than the Cardinal, as it would seem, of the advantage of the exchange ; for, prior to advising their colleagues, they exacted two statues instead of one (29th of March—27th of September, 1568).[1]

None the less, in the following year, the Cardinal, his taste growing, proposed, in exchange for three life-size statues of women, seated and robed, which he wished to place in his garden, to hand over some larger than life-size statues that the superintendent of the restoration work—it must have been Boccapaduli—stated to be necessary for the decoration of the palaces. Cardinal Giovanni Ricci of Montepulciano availed himself of the opportunity to ask for a similar exchange, as he was, at the time, building the villa which, after its purchase by Cardinal Alessandro de Medici, was called the Medici villa, and he was seeking some small statues. On the 28th of July, 1569, the two requests were examined and approved by the public Council.[2]

In the same year, 1569, the Roman people, or rather their Council, acquired a statue of Hercules belonging to a certain Francesco Ronciono. Boccapaduli conducted the negotiations for the purchase.[3] Lorenzo Astalli made over to them a marble tablet on which were engraven several inscriptions.[4] In spite of the extreme poverty of the public treasury, the Council never failed to send commissaries to attentively examine all the objects that were offered for their approval.[5] In 1571, they acquired a marble which was believed to represent Mount Aventine.[6] At the same time, they received from the Chapter of the Lateran a brass plate and a cock, likewise in brass ; and, in return, they voted the Chapter a present, which, to tell the truth, the latter had in a manner solicited.[7] The statue of Hadrian sacrificing was bought about this period.[8]

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 77, 91. The Tiberius is, at present, in the courtyard, n. 17.

[2] The request was submitted to the secret Council of the 19th of July, and was accepted, "seeing that the statues given by the people were small and the statues offered large and more in harmony with the decoration for which they were to be utilised." Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 107, 131. The text does not say what were the statues exchanged.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 38, fol. 107. Perhaps, Helbig. I. 588.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 38, fol. 175.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 537.

[6] Council meeting of the 18th of Nov., 1570. *Archiv. Stor. Capit.*, Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 342, 344. Archbishop Cardinal Massini paid a thousand ducats for this statue found on the Aventine. The reference is to a representation of the child Hercules (Helbig. I. 514; Forcella, I. n. 92); saloon, n. 3. Another child Hercules, gallery, n. 51.

[7] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 27, fol. 16. Tofanelli, p. 39. The naval frieze, coming from a temple of Neptune which previously decorated the church of St. Laurence-outside-the-walls, was placed in the museum about this period; room of the Philosophers, n. 99–101.

[8] Michaelis, p. 47. Portico, n. 36 ; found near the church of S. Stefano Rotondo.

Either by generosity, or for the motives already mentioned, the Holy See continued to enrich the museum. Gregory XIII. presented it with the precious inscription containing the *Lex Regia*, which had formerly served Cola di Rienzo as text and argument, to demonstrate to the Roman people their past greatness and present decay, and which was still in the Lateran, in the place it occupied when the tribune was alive (1576).[1]

Classification of the Collections.

About the end of the sixteenth century, a first attempt was made to arrange the mass of antiquities which, for the past hundred years, had been accumulating in the Capitol. It appears that the bronzes were put together in one room.[2] The statue of Hercules was given a pedestal more appropriate than that on which it had been previously placed (1578).[3] The same thing was done with the She-Wolf, in 1586.[4] The Fasti which Cardinal Farnese had recently offered to the Capitol were likewise assigned a more suitable position (1588).[5]

Sixtus V. endowed the museum with two of the ancient columns that had belonged to the old palace of the Lateran ; he also presented it with the "metal ball that was above the eagle of the Vatican."[6] Now and again, the museum received legacies. Adriano Fusconi, Bishop of Aquino, who died in 1579, had bequeathed his entire collection of antiquities, which was exceedingly fine, to the Roman people ; but only in case his heirs should not agree about its remaining intact in his house.[7] The inventory that was made of it, in 1593, proved its value.[8] In it were statues of great beauty, a Diana robed and with her dog, an Alexander nude and of life size, an Adonis, a

[1] Forcella, I. n. 72. Room of the Faun. Cf. Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 85.

[2] In the inscription (Forcella, I. n. 70) we read : "COACTIS IN VNVM AENEIS MONVMENTIS." This inscription dates back to the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

[3] Nicholas Audebert of Orleans, who travelled in Italy from 1574 to 1578, writes in a letter at the end of his itinerary : "The Hercules is there still on the ground, until a room is finished, when it will be placed at the further end." About Audebert, see P. de Nolhac, *The Library of Fulvio Orsini* (in French), Paris, 1887, p. 66, and *Revue archéologique* ; E. Müntz has published the part of the journey relating to Rome in the *Antiquities of the City of Rome* (in French), 1886, pp. 72–128. The MS. is in the British Museum (Lansdowne, MS. 720). The old pedestal is used to support the bust, called Virgil's, which was then in the same room, now the room of the Philosophers, n. 1. Venuti, II. 294.

[4] Inscription on the socle. Forcella, I. n. 87.

[5] Archiv. di Stato, Mand. Camer., an. 1587–1589, fol. III. The columns were used later to adorn the central window of the gallery. Venuti, p. 305.

[6] Forcella, I. n. 378.

[7] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 29, fol. 45, 47. The text of the will is found in the Archiv. Capit., Atti Not. Originali, vol. 77, fol. 471.

[8] Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 105.

Marcus Aurelius, busts of Roman Emperors, in great number, shafts of columns. In vain the people tried to obtain this collection. When the last direct heir of the Bishop died, viz., the Marchioness Francesca Pighini, the matter was still unsettled, although the Council had carried it before every jurisdiction, and had even applied to the tribunal of the Rota (1764). Then it was decided that the people would definitely renounce all their claims in order to spare the Communal treasury further expense.[1]

In 1581, the Council treated for the acquisition of several antique statues and objects undescribed in the minutes.[2] In 1583, two larger than life-size statues were bought, "with their heads entire and in good preservation."[3] They were intended for the decoration of the palace; for, while the Capitoline collections were being increased, endeavours were made to complete the realisation of Michael Angelo's designs. The Council never ceased occupying themselves with fresh purchases.[4] In 1590, room was found, in the courtyard of the palace, for a fine sarcophagus which had been discovered shortly before in the Monte del Grano,[5] and on the lid of which it was believed the effigies of the Emperor Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mamea, could be recognised.[6] In 1592, the celebrated bust of Scipio was acquired; and, in 1594, the statue of Marforio, which had played in past centuries such an important part by its replies to Pasquin, was removed to the Capitol and placed in the palace courtyard. It was intended to ornament the fountain on the Navona square; and was brought there, when claimed by the Communal Council, "to be used as a

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 104, fol. 8; Cred. VII. vol. 69, fol. 586; in the sitting of the 7th of Aug., 1765, the advocate of the Roman people was commissioned to make this renunciation.

[2] Lanciani, *Scavi*, II. 89.

[3] Sitting of the 8th of March, 1583. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 17, and Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 159. The reference is to the statues of Trajan and Antonine the Pious. Forcella, I. n. 77. Trajan, saloon, n. 9; Antonine, *ibid.*, n. 25. Tofanelli, pp. 85, 88.

[4] Sitting of the 17th of June, 1583. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 28, fol. 171.

[5] The *Monte del Grano* is a mound situate in the Roman campagna, between the *Via Latina* and the *Via Labicana*. Its slopes were cultivated, whence its name. Excavations were made there about this period. Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, Rome, 1837, II. 344.

[6] Forcella, I. n. 91. This sarcophagus contained a glass vase ornamented with designs and prismatically tinted, which became the property of the Barberini family, then passed into the hands of the Duke of Portland, and now belongs to the British Museum. Memoir of R. Venuti, *Spiegazione de bassirilievi dell' Urna detta d'Alessandro-Severo nel Museo Capitolino*, Rome, 1756, addressed to the Duchess of Choiseul, then Ambassadress at Rome. Cf. F. Ficoroni, *Le Vestigie e Rarità di Roma antica*, Rome, 1744, p. 169. Tofanelli, p. 28, and Piranesi, *Antiq. di Roma*, II. tav. XXX. The scenes represent the life of Hercules (Helbig, I. 424); room called that of the Sarcophagus.

river-god above the fountain of the Square."[1] The niche in which it was placed was constructed from the design of Giacomo della Porta, and cost 150 crowns. It was Bescapé, as has been said, who repaired the statue.[2] The colossal bronze head was taken from the position it had occupied under the portico, and placed among the antiquities in the palace



FIG. 43.—MARFORIO (BEFORE ITS RESTORATION).

courtyard.[3] About this time, a bust, supposed to be that of the praetor L. Cornelius, was bequeathed to the Capitol by Fulvio

[1] As already said, it was another statue which was placed on the fountain. It was used later, in 1734, to ornament the fountain in the inner courtyard of the second palace of the Conservators. See what Evelyn says, quoted further on, p. 213, note 7; and Helbig, I. no. 401; Michaelis, p. 50. This statue may be believed to have represented the Rhine, under the features of Jupiter; it was probably executed in the time of Diocletian. Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone*; *Ancient Art*, p. 72. Reproduction of this statue before its restoration, Boissard, I. pl. 4, 3; after its restoration, De Cavalleriis, pl. 94; De Rossi, *Raccolta di Statue*, pl. 26, &c. As to its history, Cancellieri, *Notizia delle due famose statue di un fiume e di Patroclo dette volgaramente di Marforio e di Pasquino*, Rome, 1789, and *Carcere Tulliano*, of the same. Scipio (Helbig, I. 484), room of the Philosophers, n. 49.

[2] Arch. Cap., Atti Orig. Not. Arconio, vol. 12, fol. 30, 11th of Feb., 1594. Cf. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. IV. vol. 104, fol. 11.

[3] Michaelis, p. 50. See pp. 187 and 199.

Orsini, as well as a brass plate. Both had just been discovered near Tivoli. However, neither of them figures to-day in the collection. They were taken away in the following century; the plate passed into the hands of the Barberini, who possessed it till 1799. Since that date, it has disappeared. As for the bust, it was bought, about 1710, by the English architect Kent, on behalf of Thomas Coke, who placed it in his residence at Holkam Hall, from where it has similarly disappeared.[1] The bass-relief supposed to represent Marcus Aurelius, and which was added to three others, was put in the Capitol about 1590.[2]

Meanwhile, the rooms in the palace of the Conservators had been accumulating statues which, more often than not, were in an exceedingly bad state of preservation. So it was decided, about this time, to undertake a general restoration of them. A commencement was made with the two groups of Castor and Pollux. A Milanese sculptor, Antonio Peracca by name, and, with him, Giovanni Antonio Valsoldi, were entrusted with the work ; and a third sculptor was added to them, Alessandro Rondino of Como. They were paid 450 crowns for each group, on condition of completing their task in the course of the year 1594.[3] Then attention was turned to the lion which once stood at the top of the staircase giving access to the Capitol, and which was used in executions ; it was then in the courtyard of the palace. Ruggiero Bescapé of Milan was commissioned to restore it. To the same sculptor was next given the marble statue of Constantine to repair, and a bust to add to the colossal bronze head then called Trajan's (Nero junior's), and the top of the cranium and the hair. The weight of metal which the artist was to employ in completing it was stipulated as not to be inferior to seventeen hundred pounds. Bescapé had also to repair the four bass-reliefs representing the history of Marcus Aurelius. For some of these tasks, he had the co-operation of Vincenzo Topi of Montepulciano. He died in 1600, without finishing the restoration of the colossal Trajan. Domenico di Bartolommeo of Lupis succeeded him ; and, subsequently, a certain *maestro Filippo*, who was doubtless Filippo

[1] Michaelis, p. 50 ; Gallaeus, *Illustrium imagines*, tab. 48 ; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. The bust was replaced by another to which the same name was given. Tofanelli, p. 151. It too has disappeared.

[2] Vacca, n. 28 ; Michaelis, p. 46 ; Helbig, I. 547. It came from the Sciarra Square.

[3] "*Ascanius Bubalus, Johannes Franchinus et Marcus Antonius Coronatus Conservatores nomine Ro. Populi . . . concesserunt Magistro Johanni Antonio Peraccha sculptori Mediolanensi in Urbe ad perficiendum et ad debitum finem terminandum Gigantem marmoreum magnum.*" Helbig, I. 538 ; Archiv. Capit., Atti orig. del Not. Arconio, vol. 12, fol. 179. Cf. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. IV. vol. 114, fol. 16.

Casella, registered, about that time, among the number of the masters in the stone-cutter's and sculptor's art.[1]

For a long while, Filippo continued to be the official restorer of the antiquities belonging to the Roman people; and he, in fact, restored a great many. Payments varying from ten to forty crowns were made from year to year; but the nature of the work is rarely specified. On the 13th of December, 1613, he received twelve crowns for repairing "two horses and the marble giants, at the top of the great staircase leading to the Capitol," which were in danger of falling;[2] then, almost immediately afterwards, twice fifty crowns for the same work.[3] In spite of these repeated expenses, the Council were as assiduous as ever in purchasing "such monuments of antiqnity as were likely to commemorate the greatness of the City."[4]

However, with the increasing riches of the Capitoline museum, the confusion augmented in still greater proportion. They were then, and for long they continued to be, a medley of the most heterogeneous objects heaped up without any method whatsoever.[5] The disorder was so great, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the Conservators and the prior of the *caporioni* were commissioned to effect a classification. To reward their trouble, they were promised the inscription of their names on the socles of all the objects they might arrange, this notwithstanding a rule to the contrary.[6]

The Council also undertook the decoration of the rooms. In 1624, they voted a sum of eight hundred ducats, to hang the walls with silk and damask, in the room called the room of Hercules. The purchase of the bust of Cicero was anterior to the year 1635.[7]

1 A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma*, Milan, 1881, II. 309.

2 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 61, fol. 230.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 231, 234.

4 Sitting of the Communal Council of the 4th of Nov., 1596. It was no doubt about this time that the Capitol received the fine circular altar supporting the statue of Aesculapius; saloon, n. 5. Both came from Anzio. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 30, fol. 126.

5 De Brosses, *Familiar Letters* (in French), 1739–1740, II. 207, says: "The inside of these three palaces, especially the one of the left wing, is filled with a huge quantity of antique statues and of inscripticns which are heaped up from time to time, as occasion offers. All of these are scattered about, without order, in the courts of the wings, under the porticoes, on the staircases, in the apartments. . . . There seems to be an intention of working at them soon." See p. 183, note 1.

6 Sitting of the Communal Council, of the 28th of June, 1614. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 67.

7 "*De ornanda camera Herculis.*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 32, fol. 202; Michaelis, p. 52. The English traveller John Evelyn gives a description of the Capitoline collection in the year 1644 (Evelyn, *Diary*, in the *Memoirs and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (London, 1827, vol. I. p. 161). He mentions the statue of Marforio which, he says, casts water into a basin; the colossal head of Commodus fixed to the wall, the rostral pillar of Duillius; in a small courtyard, the statue of Constantine; on a fountain, a head of Minerva (the colossal head already spoken of);

In the year 1651, the whole museum was overhauled. Statues which were on the ground floor were taken up to the first floor; others were put in the chapel, or relegated to the *Archivio*. Every removal cost from one to two crowns. Gio. Batta. Torrone, *capo mastro* of the Roman people, received, in all, 126 crowns, which proves the importance of the changes carried out.[1] It was the same Torrone, who in 1653 removed the two statues of the Constantines from the place they had occupied for a century, on the steps leading to the church of S. Maria Aracoeli, to where they now stand on the right and left of the Dioscuri. For this operation he received twenty-eight crowns.[2] In 1662, Pope Alexander VII. made a gift to the Capitol of two of the bass-reliefs taken from the Portogallo arch, which was at the corner of the Corso and the Via in Lucina, since he had just pulled the arch down;[3] and, in 1663, he gave a bronze foot from the pyramid of Cestius.[4] In 1673, four crowns and a half were spent on transferring the head of Domitian to the courtyard and repairing the marble socle on which it stood.[5] In 1692, it was decided to do up the statue surmounting the fountain; it appears to have badly needed restoration; the parts renovated were the head, the neck, the left arm, the shoulders, the torso, and part of the hips. However, the person entrusted with the task received only one crown for the labour and a crown for the marble.[6] An excavation made about this date on the Pietra Square resulted in the discovery of four pedestals ornamented with figures of Provinces, two of which were assigned to the Chigi palace, and two to the Capitol. One of the latter was placed in the courtyard of the palace of the Conservators, where it was used as a support to the head said to be Domitian's (1672); the other was placed in the new palace, beside the two Christian pedestals.[7]

the mausoleum of Alexander and Mamea: the group of the lion and horse; and the frescoes of Laureti and of the horse of Arpino. Bust of Cicero (Forcella, I. n. 28; Helbig, I. 493), room of the Philosophers, n. 75.

1 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 1, fol. 48. The Thorn-drawer was provided with a new socle in 1609, as also the fragments of the colossus called Apollo, in 1635; and the urn of Agrippina, about the same time; the fragments of the colossus seem to have been displaced in the following year, as well as the god Pan; three statues of figures sitting, and the muses Thalia and Urania in 1639; the Camillus in 1641; a statue of Marius in 1653. Forcella, I. nn. 111, 127, 130, 131, 132, 135, 138, 140, 151.

2 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 1, fol. 138.

3 Lanciani, *Destruction of Rome*, p. 256; Michaelis, p. 53; Righetti, vol. 1, pl. 169 and 170; Helbig, I. 549. These bass-reliefs represent the apotheosis of an empress or an emperor (Hadrian) proclaiming a decree. As to the denomination of the arch, see Adinolfi, *Roma nell' Età di mezzo*, II. 72, and Nibby, *Roma antica*, I. 471. An inscription recorded this gift. Forcella, I. n. 181.

4 Michaelis, p. 53; Tofanelli, p. 41. Cf. Helbig, I. 614, who perhaps confuses this foot with the one mentioned p. 201.

5 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 4, fol. 248.

6 *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 8, fol. 221.

7 Michaelis, p. 54; Helbig, I. 537; Forcella, I. n. 167; Tofanelli, pp. 14, 138.

In fine, the seventeenth century was less profitable to the museum than the preceding one, since the Popes then reigning had nephews who were great lovers of the fine arts, the Barberini, the Pamfili, the Borghese, the Ludovisi, to whom in preference their gifts were presented.

THE NEW MUSEUM, CALLED THE MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL.

In the middle portion of the seventeenth century, the crowding had become so great in the museum rooms of the palace of the Conservators, that it was necessary to take thought for removing elsewhere part of the objects they contained. The new palace, situated opposite, had just been completed. It was utilised for this purpose. Still, the transfer was made unmethodically, and very slowly.[1] In 1704, the work was yet in progress, but so little ardour was shown, that the expenses amounted only to seventeen crowns for the whole year.[2] Out of economy, the busts were placed on wooden socles.[3] Indeed, the state of the City finances was such that purchases were completely stopped at this time; and all that was done was to repair the statues, many of which were in a very bad condition. In 1707, the Hercules was restored.[4] In 1708, a finger was renovated on one of the river-gods standing at the foot of the great staircase of the Senatorial palace; it cost 2 crowns 50; the nose was also renovated, which cost a crown; and the soles of the feet, at a cost of 2 crowns 70.[5] In 1711, a finger that lacked was added to the statue of Rome; and in its hand was firmly fixed the commander's staff, which had become loose.[6] In 1713, the consular Fasti were put into one of the rooms of the palace.[7] In

[1] In 1671, a first inventory was drawn up of the statues contained in the new museum. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. IV. vol. 99, fol. 45 and following.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 9, fol. 349. The statue of Chastity and the Juno Sospita were placed in the staircase in 1680 (Forcella, I. n. 176); at present, saloon, n. 15; the Abundance and the Immortality on the ground floor, portico, n. 30, 31, in 1681 (Forcella, n. 179); Jupiter and Hadrian in the portico, nn. 36, 41, in 1687 (Forcella, n. 182); Bacchus and Apollo in the gallery, n. 38, in 1717 (Forcella, nn. 218, 219). The Polyphemus, portico, n. 35; the Aesculapius in black marble, saloon, n. 5; Marcello, or the Augustus sitting, room of the Philosophers, n. 98; the old woman, saloon, n. 22; the statue of Marius, are designated as being in the new palace, by Rossini (1693), Pinarolo (1703), Keyssler (1730), Michaelis, n. 205.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Capit., *ut supra*.

[4] Forcella, I. n. 207.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. IV. vol. 12, fol. 418.

[6] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 15, fol. 148.

[7] Sitting of the Council of the 28th of Sept., 1713. *Conto di M. Andrea Maggi muratore per mettere in opera la lapide dei Fasti Consolari nella seconda stanza verso Monte Tarpejo con ordine dei Conservatori. Per avere preso detta lapide che era nel cortile del Palazzo e portata di sopra con otto uomini.* The total expense, approved by the new architect of the people, Alessandro Specchi, amounted to 4 crowns 77. (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 14, fol. 148.) The Faun came from Mount Aventine (Tofanelli, p. 52); gallery, n. 12.

1705, Pope Clement XI. presented the museum with two busts of Scipio and a bust of "Ulpian Trajan, the consul"; and in 1714, he made over to it five antique statues discovered in the gardens of Leone Verospi Vitelleschi, near the Salara Gate.[1] He, likewise, gave the two Barbarians, in grey marble, a bust of Marcus Aurelius, and a bass-relief representing Endymion reposing.[2] The "Fish-jaw," intended to "show the marvels of the ocean," was bequeathed to the museum in 1733.[3]

Benedict XIII. showed himself more generous still than his predecessors. Learning that the Chartreux monks of the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli possessed two metal geese, and a statue of Isis, a palm and a half high (37 centimetres), which latter was said to be curious, on account of the hieroglyphics with which it was covered, and which was mounted on an antique alabaster socle, he bought it, in order to make a present of it to the Conservators (1727).[4] In the same year, two Greek columns, a gift of Cardinal Albani's, were taken from a courtyard, where they had remained neglected, and were put in the room of the *capitani*.[5] The so-called sarcophagus of Alexander Severus was transferred to the new palace; and there also were taken two Egyptian statues, one of which, in black granite, represents the mother of Ramses III. (Sesostris).[6] The museum was, at this period, likewise enriched with a bust of Socrates, with a Diana, a Bacchante, and a statue of Juno, which last was then believed to be the statue of an Amazon;

[1] Sittings of the Communal Council of the 29th of November and 10th of December, 1714, in which the gift was accepted and a "superintendent appointed for the transfer, repairing, and installation of the said statues," which were placed in the new palace. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 57, fol. 241; Michaelis, *Coll. Capit.*, p. 57. According to the text itself of the gift deed, the statues referred to were those in "hard Egyptian stone" found in the gardens of Verospi, near the Salara Gate. They comprised four Isises, and an Egyptian priest in oriental red granite. Montagnani, pl. CV., CVI., CVII., CVIII., CX.; Tofanelli, pp. 16 and 137; Venuti, I. 296; courtyard of the palace of the Conservators and portico, in their time. These were transported to the Vatican in 1838, as has been said. As to the busts, see Forcella, I. n. 205.

[2] The two Barbarians, courtyard of the palace of the Conservators; Endymion, room of the Emperors, n. 92. Cf. Helbig, I. 462, 539. The bust of Marcus Aurelius was found, with four others, in the gardens of the villa supposed to be that of Antonine the Pious (1701); gallery, n. 63. Michaelis, p. 56.

[3] Forcella, I. n. 125; Tofanelli, p. 148. Room of the She-Wolf.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 57, fol. 176, at the date of the 30th of Aug., 1727. Forcella, I. n. 223; Ficoroni, I. 48. Michaelis, p. 58, gives a different origin. At present, room of the Geese. The geese, which are really ducks, gave their name to the room where they were placed (audience-chamber). Lanciani, *Scavi*, p. 77; Michaelis, p. 58; Tofanelli, p. 148.

[5] The captains of the people or of appeals were appeal judges whose prerogatives were determined by the statutes of 1580, Bk. I., art. 5, but who had existed before that date. Inscription recording this removal: Forcella, I. n. 224. Cf. note 6, p. 204.

[6] This statue was taken, with other Egyptian statues, to the Vatican, Egyptian museum, room II., in 1858.

it came from the abode of the Sesi, where it occupied a prominent place.[1]

In spite of these additions, the new museum continued to be but poorly provided. Its real creator was Pope Clement XII., who presented it with part of the fine collection of antiquities made by Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the pieces of which had been mostly found in the ruins of Anzio (15th of December, 1733).[2] Sixty thousand crowns were paid for it.[3] The bulk was composed of the series of Emperors' busts which is one of the curiosities of the museum. Remarkable among them were the busts of Poppaea, Vitellius, Vespasian (bust "heroically" draped in Eastern alabaster), Tiberius, Caracalla, Caligula (in a single block of basalt), a woman unknown, the god Pan, Julia, wife to Septimus Severus, with oriental head-dress, Domitius Aenobarbus, the philosopher Diogenes, Hadrian, Septimus Severus, Faustina the younger, Lucius Verus, Antonine the Pious, Marcus Aurelius, the last noted as being a perfect piece of sculpture, another bust of Hadrian, with a transparent alabaster mask, the neck being restored, a bust of Sabina, two more of Hadrian, another of Marcus Aurelius, and also of Septimus Severus, one of Commodus as a child, two more of Marcus Aurelius, busts of Augustus, Quintus Erennius, Julia Mesa, Faustina the elder, Hercules as a child; besides the foregoing, two statuettes of Diana, and busts of philosophers, Seneca, Plato, Epicurus, Ammon; of the poets, Euripides, Pindar, Sappho, and a number of others also. The Capitoline museum further received, either directly or indirectly, the following objects from Cardinal Albani's collection: a bust of Homer, two Apollos, a Hunter (Polytimus, 1747), a Minerva, a Diana, a Puteal, on which was represented the procession of the Gods, the bust of Theon of Smyrna, one of Pitorides, a bass-relief, Pan and the nymphs, Aesculapius, a statue of Jupiter, Hadrian under the figure of Mars, Lucilla, a male Faun.[4]

[1] Michaelis, *Coll. Capit.*, p. 57. Socrates (Helbig, I. 464; Fea, p. 159), room of the Philosophers, n. 46; Diana, portico, n. 52; Bacchante, portico, n. 10; Juno (Righetti, pl. V; Tofanelli, p. 100), room of the Gladiator, n. 2. Helbig, I. 532, takes it to be a Proserpine. The Rome triumphant, in the courtyard of the palace of the Conservators, also comes from the Cesi gardens (1720) (Venuti, II. 291; Michaelis, p. 56).

[2] Therefore this museum is sometimes called the Clementine Museum. With regard to the excavations at Anzio, see Soffredini, *Storia d'Anzio*, p. 87.

[3] The minutes of the purchase deed are in the *Archiv. di Stato*, Atti Galosius D. Segretario di Camera, Prot. 918, fol. 880; they contain an enumeration of all the objects composing the collection, numbering 408. *Relazione delle statue, busti, teste, bassorilievi, erme, urne con bassorilievi, idoli egizii, vasi istoriati, leone e colonne spettanti all' Emo. Card. Alessandro Albani, raccolta in vero, copiosissima e singolarissima fatta con prodiga e scenziata mente dal detto cardinale.*

[4] Bust of Homer, room of the Philosophers, n. 44; Apollo, saloon, n. 30–31; Hunter, *ibid.*, n. 7; Minerva, *ibid.*, n. 8; Diana, *ibid.*, n. 26; Puteal, gallery, n. 31; Theon, room of the Philosophers, n. 25; Pitorides, *ibid.*, n. 65; Pan, *ibid.*, n. 110;

Clement XII., moreover, added to the Capitoline collection the Hercules killing the Hydra, a mask of Silenus, the Antinoüs, a statue of a beardless Roman, called Marius, a colossal woman's statue, a Marcus Aurelius, a muse, Thalia, a statuette of Mars, a child hugging a bird, a Dacian prisoner (lower portion), a Diana, a Niobide, a statue of Augustus,[1] and the one of the dying Gladiator which was in the gardens of the Ludovisi villa and which he bought in order to offer it to the Capitol; the arm had been repaired in the sixteenth century.[2]

The transfer of all these objects was paid for by the Commune.[3] A beginning was made, in the early days of the year 1734.[4] The new museum, definitely constituted by these additions, was inaugurated in the course of the same year.

Clement bought, besides, in order to offer it to the museum, a collection comprising more than five hundred ancient inscriptions that had belonged to Ficoroni, for which he paid four hundred crowns.[5]

Aesculapius, saloon, n. 5; Jupiter, *ibid.*, n. 1; Hadrian, *ibid.*, n. 13; Lucilla, saloon, n. 11; Faun, gallery, n. 10. Cf. Helbig, I. 439, 480, 504, 506, 524. The Museum of the Louvre possesses a sarcophagus of the Muses from the collection of Cardinal Albani, which was formerly in the Capitol. The Faun playing the flute, with a bull at his feet, was discovered on the Aventine, in 1749, with another male Faun. (Ficoroni, in Fea, *Miscellanea*, I. p. CLXIV. no. 94.)

[1] Hercules, portico, n. 38; mask of Silenus, room of the Faun, n. 8; Antinoüs, room of the Gladiator, n. 12; statue, entitled Marius (Forcella, I. n. 151), saloon, n. 14; colossal woman's statue, *ibid.*, n. 24; Marcus Aurelius, *ibid.*, n. 32; Muse (Thalia), *ibid.*, n. 35; Mars, room of the Faun, n. 12; child with the bird, room of the Gladiator, n. 9; Dacian prisoner, portico, n. 21; Diana, *ibid.*, 52; Niobide, gallery, n. 48. Cf. Righetti, p. 76; Helbig, I. 444; Augustus, saloon, n. 10. For the others, Helbig, I. 406, 519, 524. The Gladiator, as well as the Thorn-drawer, the Antinoüs, Zeno, Cupid and Psyche, the bust of Brutus, already spoken of, were sent to Paris by Bonaparte. The room of the Gladiator was called, in Tofanelli's time, the room of recovered Monuments. A certain number of objects, sarcophagus representing Tritons, sarcophagus of the Muses, a Hygeia, have remained at the Louvre.

[2] Righetti, Pietro, *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, I. 1; Montagnani, II. 72; Pinaroli, Gio. P., *Trattato della cose più memorabili di Roma*, Rome, 1724, t. II. p. 326, says that the statue was brought from Prince Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Brocciano, at the same time as a statue of Hercules. Helbig, I. 533.

[3] The details of the expenses are in the Bibl. Corsini. Cod. 41, 7, 1, fol. 36. "*Ristretto delle spese fatte sotto Clemente XII per la collocazione delle statue comprate dal cardinale Alessandro Albani in Campidoglio. . . .*" The total expense amounted to 10,335:03 crowns ½. It is true that advantage was taken of the opportunity to make some further acquisitions. "*A padre Mansueto procuratore dei frati Carmelitani della nuova chiesa al Monte di Pietà per due statue e due busti di marmo antichi da collocare nella galleria e nuovo prospetto della fontana* DEL NVOVO PALAZZO, *sc.* 80; *a Filippo Barigioni per prezzo di una statua da collocarsi nel medesimo prospetto*, *sc.* 40; *al Sig. Napoleoni scultore per restauri alle statue e prezzo di due busti antichi*, *loro trasporto*, *sc.* 208:67½."

[4] *Diario di Francesco Valesio*; Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XIV. vol 19; *Diari di Roma dal* 1733 *al* 1736, fol. 67. Sunday, 3rd Jan., 1734: "*In questi giorni si e dato principio al trasporto delle statue comprate dal papa al Card. Albani.*"

[5] Inscription recording the Pope's generosity; it is in the new palace courtyard: Forcella, I. n. 234. Other inscriptions were placed in various rooms of the Capitol: Forcella, I. n. 233, 231, 232. This Ficoroni was the author of a work entitled *Le Vestigie e Rarità di Roma antica*, Rome, 1744, in which a good deal is said of the Capitol, p. 42.

If the enriching of the two Capitoline museums was partly due to the generosity of the sovereign pontiffs, they began, in return, to consider the museums as thenceforward being their property: in their letters, in the Acts emanating from the pontifical Chancery, the expression "our museums" was constantly employed. As a matter of fact, they freely disposed of the objects contained in them. On the 1st of April, 1737, Clement XII. ordered the statue of one of the sons of the Emperor Constantine to be transferred to the Lateran portico, in replacement of his own statue, which had been sent to Ancona.[1] In 1736, the Sforza-Cesarini gave a bass-relief representing an Arch-Gaul (high-priest). The square base on which the labours of Hercules are represented was brought from Albano in 1743; the Harpocrates, in 1744.[2]

Benedict XIV. had some mosaics put in the Capitol (1749),[3] and some Egyptian statues which came from Hadrian's villa (1748):[4] he presented it also with the celebrated plan of Rome (Forma Urbis), then in twenty-six tablets.[5]

The principal antiquities given to the museum of the Capitol by Pope Benedict XIV. (1740–1758), besides those which have just been indicated, were: a child hugging a goose to his breast (1741); a bust of Agrippa and a priestess of Isis (1743);[6] the sarcophagus of the Amazons, a figure of a girl, the Isis (1744); an altar dedicated to the god Jupiter Sol Serapis (1745); the Satyr in red marble (1746); a group representing a boy and a girl embracing, the Cupid and Psyche (1749); a Diana and a Jupiter (1750); the Venus (1752); a group representing a

[1] Cancellieri, *Mercato e Lago*, p. 245. Clement XII. had ordered the mole to be rebuilt. Cancellieri says wrongly that it was the Emperor's statue. Cf. Novaes, XIII. 297.

[2] Arch-Gaul, room of the Sarcophagus, n. 3; altar of Hercules, room of the Canopus, n. 44; Harpocrates, saloon, n. 28. Cf. Helbig, I. 420, 425, 505; Tofanelli, p. 88; Fea, p. 194; Righetti, I. 17, 62, II. 274, 275.

[3] J. A. Furietti, *De Musivis*, Rome, 1752, p. 52. Among others, Hercules at the court of Omphale: Helbig, I. 414.

[4] Forcella, I. n. 254. They are the objects collected in the room named *del Canopo*: Fea, p. 190; Tofanelli, p. 19.

[5] The plan was found, two hundred years before, behind the church of S. Cosmo e Damiano. Inscription recording the gift of this plan: Forcella, I. n. 243 bis; cf. 244, 250.

[6] Montagnani, p. 45. The following inscription was placed under Marco Agrippa's bust:

MVNIFICENTIA
BENEDICTI XIV. P. O. M.
ET DONO
LACTANTII SERGARDI
AB INTIMO EJVSD. PONT. CVBIC.
A. D. MDCCXLIIJ

(Forcella, I. n. 247. Cf. Bottari and Foggini, *Il Museo Capitolino*, IV. 35.) Room of Philosophers, n. 16. Priestess of Isis, room of the Gladiator, n. 15. Child, room of the Faun.

Roman man and woman as Mars and Venus, a wounded Amazon, a statue of a stripling, the Myth of Jupiter, a Psyche, a woman carrying a vase, an Amazon (1753); a Satyr reposing, the so-called statue of Zeno; a disk representing the life of Achilles; a sundial; a three-faced Hecate; the tombstone of Titus Statilius Aper; a mask of Pan.[1] The Venus had been found near the church of S. Vitale, and bought by the Pope from the Stasi family.[2]

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni gave or sold several objects of value to the Capitoline museums, among others, the Diana *lucifera*, the half-nude woman known under the name of Marciana, or Plotina, or Giulia, a[3] Hygeia (goddess of health);[4] the intoxicated old woman embracing an amphora had the same origin.[5] In 1750, Cardinal Spinelli sent to the Pope the bust of Lucilla, wife to Lucius Verus, and the latter sent it, in his turn, to Abbé Caccialupi, governor of the Capitoline museums, in order that he might put it in the new museum.[6]

In 1765, Pope Clement XIII. gave to the Capitol the mosaic of the Doves and the Centaurs, found, in 1737, by Cardinal Alessandro Furietti, in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli. It had been sold to the Apostolic Chamber by Count Furietti, nephew and heir to the Cardinal, for thirteen thousand ducats.[7] He

[1] Sarcophagus of the Amazons, room of the Faun, n. 18. Isis, *ibid.*, n. 14. Figure of a girl supposed to be Flora (Hadrian's villa), room of the Gladiator, n. 14. Group embracing, found in the Aventine, cabinet of Venus. Diana, nine palms high (1 metre 75), found a hundred years before, near the Via Barberina, and placed, by his order, in the room of the Emperors (*Diario del Chracas*, 10th of Jan., 1750, and 6th of May, 1752); it has disappeared from there. Perhaps in the portico (Tofanelli, p. 16). Jupiter, gallery, n. 26. The Venus, cabinet of Venus. Group of Mars and Venus, saloon, n. 34. Wounded Amazon, *ibid.*, n. 33. Stripling, *ibid.*, n. 21. The Myth of Jupiter, base, *ibid.*, n. 3. Psyche, gallery, n. 20. Woman with the vase, room of the Gladiator, n. 6. Amazon, *ibid.*, n. 4. The stela of Jupiter serves as a base to the Faun. Satyr or Faun reposing, room of the Gladiator, n. 10. Zeno, *ibid.*, n. 8, found in 1701. The disk, room of the Sarcophagus, n. 4. Sundial, room of the Emperors, n. 94. Hecate, palace of the Conservators. Tombstone of Titus, portico, 2nd room, n. 11. Mask of Pan, room of the Faun, n. 29. Cf. Helbig, I. 423, 434, 457, 458, 502, 503, 509, 515, 516, 520, 521, 523, 525, 527, 528, 530, 619.

[2] Montagnani, I. 103.

[3] Inscription on the base of this statue:

MVNIFICENTIA
PETRI OTTHOBONI
S. R. E. CARD. V. CANCEL.

(Forcella, I. n. 228. Cf. Righetti, pl. CLXXII.; Montagnani, II. 34.) Gallery, n. 54. Diana, *ibid.*, n. 46. Tofanelli, p. 54; Michaelis, p. 59.

[4] Tofanelli, p. 84. Saloon, n. 29. Another Hygeia has come into the possession of the Louvre.

[5] Michaelis, p. 59. It was given by Pope Clement XII., who had received it from the Cardinal. (Helbig, I. 431.) Gallery, n. 8.

[6] Helbig, I. 447. Gallery, n. 53. Tofanelli, p. 65. The torso of a woman draped, octagonal room, was put there in 1750. Helbig, I. 593.

[7] Helbig, t. I. no. 450. Diario manuscript of the Casanatense Library, Cod. 3815, under date of the 4th of May, 1765. Centaurs, saloon, nn. 2, 4. Righetti, pl. XIX., XXXIV.; Helbig, I. 450, 512, 513; Tofanelli, pp. 47, 82, 84.

likewise gave the altar dedicated to the Mater Magna, a statue of Apollo, and the marble known under the name of the *Tabula Iliaca*.[1] Pius VII. showed himself generous towards the museum, as the inscription placed at the entrance to the gallery declares.[2]

To Benedict XIV. (1749) was due the creation of the gallery of pictures which is at the Capitol. As Venturi says,[3] it is famous rather by the place containing it than by the pictures themselves.

[1] Mater Magna altar, gallery, n. 25. Apollo, saloon, n. 20. *Tabula Iliaca*, rooms of the Doves, n. 83; found in 1663. Cf. Helbig, I. 436, 454, 510.

[2] Forcella, I. n. 279. Cf. Tofanelli, p. 33.

[3] Venturi, A., *La Galleria del Campidoglio*, Rome, 1890. Cf. Tofanelli, *in fine*.



THE CAPITOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE KEEPING OF THE PALACES IN REPAIR.[1]

ON the 14th of January, 1703, a violent earthquake shook the City of Rome. Several edifices were damaged, the audience-chamber of the Senatorial palace was cracked, and the front nearly collapsed, owing to the breaking of certain chains that supported it.[2] Forthwith, the Council had to sanction heavy expenses for the damage to be properly repaired ; the new chains alone cost more than seven hundred crowns (713:74) ; and the other work amounted to 494:64½ crowns.[3]

In consequence of what had occurred, the chapel of the palace of the Conservators was restored.[4] It had been decorated by Nucci with a Virgin painted on slate, by Pinturicchio with another Virgin, and by Caravagio with pictures representing the four evangelists.[5]

The effects of the shock continued to make themselves felt in 1707, when the audience-chamber again threatened to fall in.[6] It was found necessary to strengthen some of the pilasters

[1] Descriptions of the Capitol in the eighteenth century are found in Deseine, *Modern Rome* (in French), Lyons, 1690, II. 355 ; Pöllnitz, *Memoirs*, II. 251 ; De Brosses, *Familiar Letter* (in French), II. 204 ; Labat, *Travels in Italy* (in French), 1769, IV. 248.

[2] It will be remembered that, in certain portions, the new façade was merely fixed on to the old one. A letter of Clement XI., written with his own hand, to the Conservators, on the 21st of March following, says : "*Avendoci il Procuratore fiscale di Campidoglio esposto come nel terremoto passato la facciata del palazzo Senatorio ha patito e minaccia di cadere per essersi strappate alcune catene grosse che la reggevano ordinammo, sentito il parere degli architetti ed il parere di Pietro Giacomo Patriarca capomastro muratore della Cam. Ap. il riattamento di detta facciata. . . .*" (Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 57, fol. 107.)

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, fol. 147, 169.

[4] The inscriptions were placed in it : Forcella, I. n. 201, n. 212. Cf. n. 147, 148, 149, relative to the years 1647, 1648, 1649.

[5] A. Nibby, *Itinerary of Rome* (in French), Rome, 1834, I. 83, and Tofanelli, p. 151.

[6] It will be remembered that, in the preceding century, there had been anxiety felt with regard to it, on account of the weakening of the foundation work.

supporting it. What was proposed was to start from the base and to substitute for the stones of which they were composed travertine blocks taken, as usual, from the Coliseum;[1] but, after examination, these blocks were discovered to be too big. The work, which was estimated by the people's architect at a hundred crowns, was done with ordinary stones by the master mason Andrea Maggi; in payment, he obtained the right to a four years' free possession of that portion of the *Tabularium* which he had previously rented at fifteen crowns a year for the purpose of depositing his timber there; an equivalent therefore to sixty crowns was his remuneration.[2]

From 1709, it was decided that no moneys for repairing should be paid, unless the bill had been checked by the Conservators and duly authorised by the fiscal office. Now, as the fiscal office was the intermediary between the Holy See and the Communal Council, this new prescription, seemingly so modest, was really a deprivation of the rights which the Communal Council had exercised up to then, at least over the palace of the Conservators.[3]

During the year 1709, the narrow street skirting the Capitol on the north side and leading from the Square to the Arch of Septimus Severus, was rendered more accessible, and its declivity was lessened. As a consequence, the Gate of Sixtus VI. was made impracticable, since it was now much above the level of the altered road. The work cost 388:80 crowns.[4]

In 1716, there was some alteration in the interior arrangement of the Senatorial palace. A staircase was put in, and the ceiling of some of the rooms was raised. The total expense amounted to 2,877:56 crowns.[5] The great hall of the palace where the Academies were held was painted by Giuseppe Ghezzi.[6] In 1719, Pope Clement XI. ordered the Conservators to melt up the old bell that was in the Aracoeli campanile and to make a new one with the metal.[7] In the same year,

1 It should, however, be added that the blocks in question had been detached by the earthquake of 1703.

2 Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 42, fol. 119–180.

3 The proof of this dispossession is furnished by the fact that the Council were thenceforward compelled to obtain the Pope's consent for even the smallest expenses. Thus, with regard to the repairing of a conduit and a ceiling, the fiscal office was requested to refer to the Pope. Sitting of the 11th of June, 1705. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 42, fol. 50. In fact, about this time, the Council even lost their name and were thenceforward styled a "Congregation."

4 *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 13, fol. 82. An inscription recorded this work: Forcella, I. n. 211.

5 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 15, fol. 351.

6 Leone Pascoli, *Vite de Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti moderni*, Rome, 1736, II. 201. Ghezzi was born in 1634 and died in 1721. As regards the Academies, see further on.

7 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 16, fol. 242; Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 56.

Francesco Princellotti, the sculptor in marble, received instructions to carve six capitals, similar to those designed by Michael Angelo, in order to ornament the inner courtyard of the new palace at the further end of which, at present, stands the statue of Clement XII. (1730–1740); the cost of the labour was 1,808:46 crowns.[1] In 1728 was restored the picture representing the Virgin and the Child which is to-day exhibited, in a much damaged state, in the chief room of the Senatorial palace, and which then adorned, as no doubt it had since the date of its being painted, the top of the main staircase. It is attributed to the school of Perugino; in the eighteenth century, it was believed to have been painted by the master himself.[2]

All those who worked regularly or officially for the palace had a share in this task: the carpenter, Domenico Giannini; the gilding painter, Simone Gidone; the ironworker, Domenico Visco; the tin manufacturer, Biagio Alsina; the glazier, Girolamo Maes. The price paid was 157:73 crowns.[3] In 1738, some of the frescoes in the palace of the Conservators, and, more especially, the one representing the Rape of the Sabines, were found to be in a very bad state of preservation. The painter Pietro Ghezzi was commissioned to restore them.[4]

On several occasions, Benedict XIV. undertook improvements in the Capitol. He had a room built, near the portico raised on the side towards Mount Caprino by Julius III., in order that Roman artists might conveniently carry on in it their studies of the nude. He had the two groups of Castor and Pollux restored by the sculptor Clemente Bianchi Napolioni,

1 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 16, fol. 258. An inscription, put up in 1729, records that in the pontificate of Benedict XIII. (1724–1730), the Conservators had visited the cities that were vassals to Rome:

BENEDICTO XIII. P. O. M. ORD. PRÆD. ANNVENTE
S. P. Q. R.
SVBIECTA FEVDA JAM DIV NON VISITATA
MAGNIFICO SPLENDORE
INGENTI SVBDITORVM GAVDIO AC BENEFICIO
INTEGERRIMA CVRA ET VIGILANTIA
MARCHIO ANTONIVS NVNES }
JVLIVS RICCIVS } CONS.
NICOLAVS PLANCA DE INCORONATIS }
SINGVLATIM VISITARVNT
ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXIX

Forcella, I. n. 227.

2 Pietro Vannucci, surnamed Perugino, worked at Rome from 1480 to 1490. This Madonna replaced an older one; see p. 92.

3 "*Nota dei conti degli Artisti che hanno lavorato intorno all' adornamento ultimamente fatto per l'Imagine della Madonna SS. posta nel muro a capo le scale nobili del Palazzo della Residenza dell' Eccmo. Magistrato Ro. in Campidoglio.*" Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 19, fol. 231. The petition addressed to the sovereign pontiff that he would authorise the work shows the importance attached by the Romans to this picture. *Ibid.*, 282.

4 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 100, fol. 101–115.

and paid him for it 250 crowns (1744).[1] In the years following, he gave him, to restore, all the statues which ornamented the cornice of the three palaces, as well as the one which was at the top of the bell-tower, the statue of Rome above the fountain, and the two river-gods ; the expense amounted to 634 crowns.[2] Besides all this, he had the palace of the Conservators raised a story higher, on the side towards Mount Caprino, in order that the pictures and statues might be put in it for which there was no room in the museums.[3]

Clement XIV. restored the ceilings of the two principal rooms in the palace of the Conservators ; and to Pius VI. was due the repairing of a number of statues decorating the palaces.[4]

The triangle, formed by the Aracoeli staircase and that of the Capitol, was still crowded with old buildings and *débris* of all kinds. Pius VI. undertook the task of having them cleared away ; the work, however, was only achieved in 1818.[5]

THE CLOCK OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

The clock which is to-day in the bell-tower of the Capitol, between the first and second stories, and which was called the Roman people's clock, because it regulated the City life of Rome, was formerly placed on the front of the church of S. Maria Aracoeli, a church belonging to the Roman people.

Mention is made of this clock for the first time in 1412, when it was completed by a bell, which was cast by a Milanese master named Petrus, and put in position by a Florentine workman named Ludovicus ; for, at that period, there were hardly any good artisans in Rome, except those that came from beyond its walls. Fixed in its place on the 24th of December, it began to strike on the 27th.[6] The clock was then on the left of the entrance to the church, a little above the round window in the

[1] Payment authorised on the 22nd of Sept., 1744. *Ibid.*, Cred. VII. vol. 39, fol. 435.

[2] Montagnani, *Il Museo Capitolino*, I. 44.

[3] Tofanelli, Agostino, *Descrizione delle sculture e pitture di Campidoglio*, Rome, 1834, p. 35. Sitting of the 26th of September, 1747 : Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VII. vol. 40, fol. 234.

[4] Montagnani, I. 45.

[5] *Notizie del Giorno*, 8th of April, 1818 (Casanatense Library).

[6] "*Anno* 1412 *die veneris* 2 *mensis decembris de nocte fuit colata campana pro horologio facta de mandato D. N. Papae et posito in ecclesia B. Mariae de Aracoeli per M. Ludovicum de Florentia. Dicta campana fuit facta per M. Petrum de Milano. An.* 1412 *die sabbati* 24 *dec. fuit tirata campana Horologii per M. Antonium Todesca cum sociis et posita in frontispicium Eccl. S. M. de Aracoeli pro horis pulsandis. Die martis* 27 *dicti mensis Decembris incoepti pulsare horas supradicta campana Horologii.*" Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, XXIV. 1033.

front, as may be seen in the accompanying engraving.[1] Some repairs were made to it in 1497.[2]

It had its winder-up, its "*moderator*," whose office was hereditary.[3] In 1617, the sum of 6:40 crowns was paid to a certain Fabio della Pedacchia, for repairs made to the clock.[4] The commune had nothing else to pay until 1656; but, thenceforward, there was a whole series of bills,[5] explaining, perhaps, why the Pedacchia family were deprived of their charge in favour of the Ciogni family, by a pontifical Brief dated in 1673.[6]

In 1658, a "bridge" had to be constructed for the painter who was commissioned to repair the "clock sphere."[7] However, there was no cessation of repairing expenses, even with the new "moderator's" appointment; in 1676, the clock had again cost twenty-five crowns; in 1678, it cost fourteen. On this last occasion application had been made to a German clockmaker,[8] who was entrusted with the keeping in repair, for which he received twenty-nine crowns in four years and eleven months.[9] In 1687–1689, he received another eighteen crowns for the same work.[10] But the mechanism was quite worn out; and the Communal Council, in their meeting of the 18th of August, 1705 decided to consult the clockmaker of the Apostolic palace and all the City clockmakers, as to what had best be done. The opinions given were apparently very perplexing, since no decision was come to before 1723; and, at that time, it was resolved to limit the expense to twelve crowns.[11] The result was that the clock no longer went at all. A Roman clockmaker, Innocenzo Ghislerio, was then bidden to present an estimate (1725).[12] The clock, by this date, had been displaced,[13] and now occupied the front of the building. Traces are still apparent of the position in which it was refixed. A deliberation of the Com-

[1] Cf. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, an. 1901, p. 267, which reproduces (pl. XIII., XIV.) a similar design preserved at Stuttgart, in the museum, Cabinet of Prints.

[2] "*Mastro Domenico di Bartolomeo, carpentario, mastro di palazzo,*" repaired the clock. Müntz, *The Arts at the Court of the Popes* (in French), *Innocent VIII.* Paris, 1898, p. 171.

[3] Enumeration of the officers of the Roman people given by Muziano; see Cerasoli, *Il Comm. di P. P. Muziano*, p. 20.

[4] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 91, fol. 287. Payment of the 26th of June, 1617.

[5] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. I. fol. 266, 267; vol. II. fol. 66.

[6] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XI. vol. 22, p. 160.

[7] *Ibid.*, fol. 63.

[8] *Spese fatte per l'orologio della chiesa di Aracoeli dal Sig. Pedacchia, sc.* 26, 45 (26th of Jan., 1676). *Conto dei avori fatti all' orologio di Aracoeli dell' Inclito Po. Ro. da Giovanni Wendelino Elsler, orologiero, sc.* 14. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 5, fol. 77, 165.

[9] *Ibid.*, fol. 252.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, fol. 81.

[11] *Ibid.*, Cred. I. vol. 42, fol. 55.

[12] *Ibid.*, Cred. VI. vol. 72, fol. 69, 73.

[13] Such is not the opinion of R. Lanciani, *Bull. Archeol. Com.*, an. 1901, p. 267, who thinks the displacement was ordered by a Brief of Benedict XIII. dated in the year 1728.

munal Council in the same year, 1725, declared that, owing to the closing of a door, by order of the Superior of the Minor Friars, the keeper was obliged to pass over the roof, in order to get to the clock.[1] However, the clock continued not indicating the hour; and, as the matter was one of general concern, Pope Benedict XIII. issued a Brief in 1728, ordering its replacement. Negotiations went on for a long while. The fiscal office had interviews with the Governor of Rome; and the latter treated with the clock-maker Giovanni de Sanctis, who had been recommended to him. Finally, it was resolved to defer the matter till the following year. Then definite action was taken; and, before the twelvemonth end, the new clock was installed. It had cost the Communal treasury three hundred crowns. This time, the liberality of the Roman Councillors was not so stinted. They painted in fresco on the church front, round the clock, the Senate's armorial bearings and those of the Cardinal - Camerlingo, together with garlands and escutcheons.[2] Still, the new clock was not a very great improvement on the old one; for, although it had been frequently repaired,[3] it had to be changed at the end of the century. In 1771, the Pope was referred to on the point; and, after long delay in pronouncing his "oracle," *oracolo*,



FIG. 44.—ENGRAVING TAKEN FROM THE *Cose Maravigliose dell' alma Citta di Roma*, Rome, 1595.

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 72, p. 73.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 72, fol. 220, 223, 239; vol. 19, fol. 197.

[3] "*Il conservatore ha verificato il sito dell' horologio d'Aracoeli che ha bisogno di restauri onde si proveda*" (7th of Aug., 1741). Other repairs, in 1742; 1747, 19 crowns; 1753, 9 crowns; 1771, 28 crowns. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 100, fol. 307; Cred. VII. vol. 18, fol. 353; vol. 45, fol. 17; vol. 61, fol. 28.

the Conservator, at last, received the authorisation to have it restored.[1]

In 1804, the Communal Council bethought themselves that, in all the other cities of Italy, the bell-tower of the City hall was adorned with a clock, whilst none existed on that of the Capitol. Anxious to remedy this inferiority, they made inquiries as to the cost of removing the clock from the church, and, at the same time, took the necessary steps to obtain from the sovereign pontiff the permission to carry out the plan. Pius VII. having granted their request, the Council applied to the clockmaker Raffaele Fiorelli, who undertook to put a new clock in the bell-tower, and to guarantee its going for six years, on payment of 250 crowns. The bargain was concluded, and he was allowed to keep the old clock for himself.[2]

Festivities held in the Capitol in the Eighteenth Century.

THE ACADEMIES.

In the eighteenth century, popular joy no longer manifested itself by theatrical performances, but by fireworks and the letting off of guns and cannons. When Innocent XIII. was elected, in 1721, the people were so full of joy, for he was of Roman origin, that they fired from the Capitol two hundred mortar discharges. The same thing was renewed at every fresh rejoicing, so that the statues and ornaments of the palaces suffered some damage. The Fathers of S. Maria Aracoeli interfered; and, with common accord, it was decided that the mortars should be taken from where they stood, and the fireworks let off at a more suitable distance (1737).[3]

On the 15th of February, 1798, the Roman people planted a tree of liberty on the Square of the Capitol, in presence of Generals Murat, Berthier, and Cervoni; four hundred dragoons assisted at the ceremony. As soon as the tree was set up, marriages were celebrated; the first was that of Baron Carlo Dasti with the daughter of Captain Truglia.[4]

1 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XV. vol. I. fol. 158, 221.

2 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XVIII. vol. 32, fol. 199, 200, 206, 213. Deliberations of the 24th of Feb., of the 22nd and 24th of March, and of the 8th of Feb., 1805. Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 55

3 Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 17, fol. 248. The site occupied by the laundresses was that where now stand the cage of the She-Wolf and the statue of Rienzo, in the triangle between the staircase of the Capitol and that of S. Maria Aracoeli. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 100, fol. 63, and Cred. VII. vol. 18, fol. 109.

4 D. Silvagni, *La Corte e la Società*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1882, vol. I. p. 458.

The ceremonies, however, which then attracted the crowd to the Capitol most were special meetings of the Academies. These were held there, as well as the regular ones, either for the purpose of crowning a laureate or of panegyrising one of the members. Commencing from 1702, the drawing Academy



FIG. 45.—PLANTING OF THE TREE OF LIBERTY ON THE SQUARE OF THE CAPITOL IN 1798.

met in the new palace of the Conservators; and, at certain periods, distributed crowns to its pupils.[1] The architect Carlo

[1] These fêtes were of old foundation. *Il Centesimo del' anno* 1695 *celebrato in Roma dall' accademia del Disegno descritto da Giuseppe Ghezzi, pittore*, Rome, 1696. There exists, in eight volumes, a series of descriptions of the fêtes given in the Capitol by the drawing Academy between 1695 and 1812. It was begun by Giuseppe Ghezzi. Casanatense Library, Misc. 4°, 388. Cf. Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, p. 125.

Balestra subsequently bequeathed his fortune to the Academy (1st of June, 1769), in aid of this ceremony.[1] The Academy of the *Infecondi* likewise met at the Capitol. On the days of public sittings, the palaces were illuminated with lanterns forming festoons, and the façade was decorated with the Academy's armorial bearings, which were symbolical, "a field covered with snow," and this consoling motto, *Germinabit*.[2] Benedict XIV. granted a room at the Capitol to the Academy of Antiquarians.[3] The Arcadians had one there also;[4] they held eloquence meetings, and celebrated olympiads. In 1771, they celebrated, at their fourth olympiad, the reconciliation of Pope Clement XIV. with the Emperor Joseph I.; numerous Cardinals and the most illustrious Romans were present at the ceremony. The room was adorned with the statues of the "five Generals of the Church," whom the quarrel between the two Sovereigns had nearly carried into action.[5] An inscription recorded this event.[6]

During the same year, Giacomo Casanova, the famous adventurer who was to appear under so many different masks, figured at a fête given by the Academy of S. Luca, in the course of which crowns and recompenses were awarded to such young artists as had distinguished themselves by their painting, sculpture, or architecture; the Arcadian singers enhanced with their songs the brilliancy of the ceremony. A sonnet was recited by Casanova, who had been admitted as a member,[7] and had assumed a surname, that of Aupolemo Pantareno, as did all who entered into Arcadia.[8]

The Academy of the Lincei held sittings in the Capitol towards the end of the century.[9]

[1] The Academy of S. Luca has its present headquarters in the neighbourhood of the Capitol, via Bonnella.

[2] *Diario del Chracas*, 19th of Dec., 1733.

[3] *Novelle Letterarie florentine*, p. 220.

[4] See chapter dealing with the coronation of Corilla, p. 232.

[5] *Diario del Chracas*, 8th of Dec., 1770; 16th of Mar., 1771.

[6] Forcella, I. n. 265.

[7] This sonnet, addressed to the Hercules of the Capitol, is a poor one, as may be imagined. It is found in the collection entitled *I Pregi delle belle Arti celebrate in Campidoglio il* 21 *April*, 1771, p. 71. The anecdote is related by Ademollo in *Il Fanfulla della Domenica*, an. VII. 1885, no. 8. Chracas speaks of it in his time.

[8] This is what he says on the subject in his Memoirs: ". . . I went out in order to go to the meeting of the Arcadians at the Capitol, where the Marchioness d'Août was to recite her reception speech. This Marchioness was a young Frenchwoman who had been in Rome for six months with her husband, a gentle and amiable person like herself. . . ." Edit. Garnier, t. VIII. p. 228.

[9] Sitting of the 16th of June, 1826. Arch. Stor. Capit., Cred. XVIII. vol. 101, fol. 45.

Poetical Coronations in the Capitol.

PERFETTI.

The second poetical coronation celebrated in the Capitol, that of Bernardino Perfetti, took place in 1725. Its pomp was as great as that observed in Petrarch's time; but it seems a piece of charlatanism.

The Academy of the Arcadians presided at it; and, in the spirit animating it, there was a lamentable exhibition of the false and factitious.

Perfetti, who was born at Sienna, on the 7th of September, 1681, began badly.[1] At eleven months old, he used to recite the *Ave Maria*; and, at one year old, he composed his first line of poetry; at seven he composed sonnets; at twenty, he was proclaimed Doctor, and his works multiplied. He was admitted to pronounce a panegyric on the sovereign pontiff in the Vatican basilica.[2] His reputation was such that he was invited by the Grand Duchess Violante (Yolande) of Tuscany[3] to the Court of Florence, where life and the arts were beginning to revive, after the end of the melancholy reign of the Grand Duke Cosmo III. Violante undertook to obtain for him the poetic crown of laurel, and, for this purpose, proceeded to Rome, under the name of the Countess of Pitigliano.[4] Pope Benedict XIII. acceded to her desire, and the coronation ceremony was fixed for the 12th of May, 1725. Meanwhile, Perfetti, in order to prove his merits, was improvising anywhere and everywhere, in drawing-rooms, in the Princess's palace, in the large hall of the Roman seminary of the Jesuits, where he had to reply impromptu to twelve questions put to him by the Academicians. In Arcadia, he received the name of Alauro Euroteo; and was, at last, admitted to the honour of wearing the poet's crown.[5]

About the fifth hour of Sunday, the 13th of May, he started from the Roman arch-gymnasium in the coach of the Senators;

[1] The biography of Bernardino Perfetti is in Moreri, Michel Giuseppi, *Le Vite degli Arcadi illustri*, part V., 1751, p. 225, composed by Mazzolari; Fabroni, *Vitae Italorum*, t. III. ed. Romana; *Uomini illustri toscani*, t. IV.; Domenico, Ciamfogni, *Saggio di Poesie scritte dal cav. B. Perfetti*, Florence, 1748.

[2] *Discorso accademico consistoriale fatto dal Cav. B. Perfetti Patrizio Sanese nel darsi il possesso della Signoria il* 1706. *Del medesimo*, *Omelia a Clemente XI*, Venice, 1715. Casanatense Library, Misc. 4°, no. 564, 12.

[3] Yolande Beatrice of Bavaria, called in Italy Violante, had, in 1688, married the hereditary Grand Prince of Tuscany, Ferdinand by name, who died before her, in 1713. She died in 1731, without having been able to enjoy her right to the Regency of Tuscany, owing to the opposition of the Great Powers.

[4] Galluzzi, *Hist. del granducato di Toscana*, VII. 202.

[5] *Diario del Chracas*, 5th–12th of May, 1725, no. 1209–1212.

four other coaches followed, in which were the magistrates of the Roman people. A crowd of valets accompanied them; trumpets were blown, and the people cheered.[1] The hall of the Capitol had been hung with red-coloured, fringe-edged stuff by the architect Alessandro Specchi; and, in the damask-draped



FIG. 46.—PERFETTI.

galleries, were the members of the Arcadian Academy, with Cardinals, the Roman nobility, and many ladies. Under a canopy, stood the Senator, with the Conservators by his side.

[1] The account of this ceremony is in Moreri, and in Gio. Maria Crescimbeni, *Atti per la solenni incoronazione fatta in Campidoglio del Sig. B. Perfetti*, Rome, 1725. Cancellieri, *Le due Campane*, gives the Latin description made of it by the Jesuit, Cordara (Works, t. IV.). Both had been present at the ceremony, and Crescimbeni took part in it, as an arch-priest of the Academy.

It was a superb canopy, which had cost 71:50 crowns; the crimson damask that covered it was trimmed with gold lace and German gold fringe; and on it could be seen the Roman people's coat of arms, and the portrait of the Pope, who, not being able to come himself, had himself represented by his counterfeit; the ceiling of it was in velvet.[1] The Princess of Tuscany sat on a separate throne. When the poet had been led in, Crescimbeni, the Arcadian arch-priest, addressed him in a learned harangue, after which the Senator made him kneel down at his feet, and, placing the laurel crown on his head, said these words to him: "*Eximium hoc Poeticae laudis decus quod tuo capiti impono sub felicissimis auspiciis Ssmi. Dñi Nri. Papae Benedicti XIII. Eques egregie, sit publici non minus erga te studii argumentum, quam obsequentissimi animi erga amplissimam et plane regiam benevolentiam, qua decoraris.*"

Perfetti replied:

"*Poetica laurus immeritae imposita fronti excelsam Ssmi. Patris ac Pontificis Papae Benedicti XIII munificentiam effusamque S. P. Q. R. erga me voluntatem testatur; quarum utraque, aut honore dignos invenit aut facit.*"

The Arcadian poets then sang the praise of the laureate; and he, standing in a sort of rostrum which had been prepared for him, improvised for a whole hour, to the accompaniment of guitars, verses on the past splendours of the Capitol.

The Senator and the Conservators, not content with having so honoured the talent of Perfetti, shortly afterwards conferred on him the freedom of the City, and authorised him to add the laurel crown to his coat of arms.[2]

CORILLA.

The poetess Corilla was crowned in the Capitol with the poetical laurel on the 31st of August, 1776; and this ceremony, the remembrance of which was still in the minds of all at the beginning of the century following, apparently inspired Madame de Staël with the idea of the picturesque scene which she makes use of, for the purpose of introducing Corinne to her readers.

Even before being led in triumph to the Capitol, as Petrarch and Perfetti, Corilla was famous. Not that she had written much; hardly anything of hers is known, except a few verses; but she knew how to make the most of this little; and especially

[1] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 18, fol. 146, 151. In fol. 248, 250 is the amount of the other expenses.

[2] He died at Sienna on the 1st of August, 1747.

possessed the talent of improvising, which was, at that time, so much appreciated in Italy.[1]

Born at Pisa, in 1728, she had carried her celebrity with her to various parts of Italy, Rome, Naples, Florence. Maria Theresa sent for her to Innsbruck, in order to celebrate there, by her poetical improvisations, the marriage of the Archduke Peter Leopold with Maria Louisa of Bourbon (1765). The great Catherine would have fain had her at her own Court; and presented her with a pension, which the succeeding monarch, Paul I., continued to pay her, and Pope Clement XIV. authorised her, in consideration of her learning, to own and study the works forbidden by the Church.

She was, as one of her biographers says, esteemed by Metastasius, cherished by Frugoni, honoured by Cesarotti and Pagani. The great violinist Nardini, who was accustomed to accompany her in her declamations, would sometimes lay down his violin in admiration.[2]

Her ambition was not satisfied with all this homage, and so much solicitation on the part of illustrious personages; and she consequently came to Rome, being aware that there she would be able to obtain, without great difficulty, a resounding and universal glory. Her expectation was not deceived. The Arcadian Academy, which had been founded in 1690, "in order to make war on bad taste," as the statutes of the society declared, and which now cultivated bad taste with ardour, hastened to receive her among its members, on February 16th, 1775. It was at this same time that she gave up her own name, Maria Madeleine Morelli Fernandez,[3] in order to assume a more harmonious one, as was fitting, when

[1] The life of Corilla has been related, with an exaggeration of detail, by Ademollo, *Corilla Olympica*, Florence, 1887. Amaduzzi speaks of her, at somewhat great length, in a letter printed in the *Nuova Raccolta di Opuscoli*, vol. XXXI., no. VIII. Chracas describes her coronation (*Diario*, ad an.), which is also related in the minor work entitled *Atti della solenne coronazione fatta in Campidoglio della insigne poetessa* . . . Rome, 1776. Cf. Silvagni, David, *La Corte e la Società Romana*, chap. XVII., which gives the biography of Corilla. Corilla died at Florence in 1800, on the 8th of Nov. On her tomb was inscribed only her Arcadian name, Corilla Olympica. Her portrait is found in the *Collezione di vite e ritratti di uomini e donne illustri*, Rome, 1821, t. II. 151. In his Memoirs, Casanova writes in 1761: "At Pisa I made the acquaintance of an Englishman who took me to the house of Corilla, a celebrated poetess, whom I very much wanted to know. She received me very cordially, and had the kindness to improvise on various subjects which she allowed me to propose to her. She charmed me less by her grace and beauty than by the pretty things she said, in language that was perfect." Ed. Brussels, 1887, IV. 423, cap. XVII.

[2] Frugoni, Carlo Innocenzo, born at Genoa in 1692, died in 1768; lyric poet. Cesarotti, Melchiorre, born at Padua in 1730, died in 1809; translated Ossian and the Iliad into verse. Pagani, Luca Antonio, born at Pistoja in 1737, died at Pisa in 1814; author of bucolic poems.

[3] She married, at Naples, D. Fernando Fernandez, a Spanish nobleman, who became colonel and governor of the praesidium of Ortebello, and died there in 1798. Corilla had left him long before. She had a son by him, who died young.

one entered into Arcadia. She chose that of Corilla Olympica.

Shortly afterwards the Communal Council conferred on her the freedom of the City. This not was yet enough. Corilla aspired to be crowned in the Capitol. Accordingly, she lavished proofs of her talent. The Arcadian Academy served her as an arena. On the 7th of March, 1776, the new shepherdess improvised, with her habitual facility, a few pastoral poems in presence of the wondering members. On the 13th of April, which was a Good Friday, the Academy held an extraordinary sitting devoted to Christ's Passion; for it is not only those of modern days who, when they are not completely absorbed by their religious duties, indulge, during fasting seasons and under pious pretexts, their customary pleasures. Corilla attended, and sang on the proposed subject with "such fervour, movement, and grace" that she ravished the audience, who were also charmed by the sweetness and flexibility of her voice. Some days later, the Academy having decided to receive among the shepherdesses Caroline Louisa, Margravine of Baden and Durlach, Corilla made an improvisation on this occasion, to the accompaniment of a harp and two violins. Grimm, the Prince of Saxe-Gotha's minister to Paris, proposed the theme that she had to develop; and his choice raised a point delicate to decide: "Is a century in which women are more peculiarly virtuous one in which men are more peculiarly happy?" In her reply, Corilla managed to please the women and not to humiliate the men, which, at any rate, was a proof of her dexterity. Such striking successes called for an immediate recognition. Corilla's bust was placed in the



FIG. 47.—CORILLA.

Academy's meeting-room; the English sculptor Christopher Heweston had modelled it.

Corilla's deserts and ambition did not stop here. On the 10th of August, the final tests began which were to show whether she were really worthy of the supreme honour she desired. On that day, she underwent a first examination in the *Locanda nobile* inhabited by Prince Louis of Gonzaga, who was the promoter of her coronation.[1] The choice of such a place for the test was, at least, imprudent, since every one was aware that there was an after-thought in the steps taken by the Prince on behalf of Corilla.[2]

Although the examination was not very difficult, it dealt with subjects that a woman-postulant for the poetic laurel could hardly be expected to know. Saliceti, the Pope's private doctor, questioned her on the colouring matter of the iris; Cavalli, on the scale and harmony; the advocate Cedri, on the loss to eloquence caused by the death of Cicero; Petroni asked her to prove that there was no virtue without piety; Devoti, coming back to the usual subjects, gave her as a theme "Pastoral life"; as for Nardini, he asked nothing, since the poetess had just been seized with a chill, and "feared for her health." On the morrow, a more serious and solemn test took place. In presence of an assembly of ladies, cavaliers, and writers, insidious questions were put to the postulant: Why does fable give Cupid darts wherewith to aim, when he is represented with a band upon his eyes? What was the first revealed religion, and who revealed it? She was next required to set forth the arguments that a European should use in order to demonstrate to a savage the advantages of a legislation. The ladies interposed in their turn; and Corilla was compelled to give her opinion as to whether men or women generally showed themselves more faithful.

In the last test, in which the twelve members of the Academy took part, Abbé Testa questioned Corilla on the beautiful in art; Abbé Marzi, on heroic poetry; the Prince of Gonzaga, on the physical and moral proofs of the existence of God. On the next day, which was the 20th of August, Abbé Gioacchin

[1] Belonging to the branch of the Marquises of Castiglione, Luigi di Gonzaga, son of Leopold, was born at Venice in 1745. The Republic undertook his bringing up and education, since his father, in dying, had left him in great poverty. He lived for some time at Vienna, then returned to Venice, whence he was banished by the Senate on account of some demagogic writings of his. In the same year that Corilla was crowned, he published a treatise entitled "*Il letterato buon Cittadino*." Some of his letters were read in the Constituent Assembly of Paris at the time of its first discussions. He died at Venice on the 10th of Sept., 1819. (Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, Gonzaga, table XVII.)

[2] It was repeated that a woman, Violante of Bavaria, had caused a man, Perfetti, to be crowned, and that now a man, Luigi di Gonzaga, was causing a woman, Corilla, to be crowned. (Bettinelli, *Risorgimento d'Italia*, p. 169.)

Pizzi, a great friend of the poetess and the guardian general of Arcadia, proclaimed the result of the examination, which, of course, was favourable to her; and he communicated it to the magistrates of the Capitol, in order to obtain leave for the coronation of Corilla in the ancient manner. The latter had already taken the matter into consideration. In their sitting of the 25th of June, 1776, the Council had decided to ask the sovereign pontiff if there was not good cause for the Arcadians, on their next meeting together in the Capitol, to be allowed to give, by popular and verbal acclamation, the poetic laurel to the poetess Corilla.[1] To this the Pope replied: "*Ssmus. mandavit non convocari Arcadiam super proposito argumento, in reliquis reservavit sibi provideri.*" The answer was not of good augury. Nevertheless Abbé Pizzi presented the sovereign pontiff with his "official paper" bearing the mention of the examiners' vote (8th of August, 1776), exactly as had been done for the poet Perfetti; and, this time, all obstacles being removed, the Council, commissioned the Marquis Ferdinando Raggi to see to the preparations for the festivity, and the architect Carlo Puri de Marchis to suitably decorate the great Consular hall (27th of August).

On Saturday, the 31st of August, towards dusk, Corilla was conducted to the Capitol by the Countesses Cardelli, Dandini, and Ginassi; the Swiss guard of the Pope and the Senator's militia were drawn up in a double line on the Square of the Capitol. Corilla had asked permission to come as far as there, simply and without any of the triumphal pageantry to which she might have laid claim. The Consular hall had been provided with galleries "for the various orders of the nobility"; a canopy took up all the further end of the room, and was covered with crimson velvet, the Pope's portrait being attached to it; four seats had been placed under it for the Senator and the three Conservators. Tapestry lined the walls and six lustres lighted the hall.

Corilla advanced with a reserved and graceful mien, say the narratives, amidst applause and to the sound of trumpets. She was close on fifty, and had never been beautiful; but the enthusiasm of the beholders willingly granted her all the perfections needed for the rôle she was playing. She knelt at the foot of the Conservators' throne. The first of the Conservators, Gio. Paolo del Cinque, who was clad with the golden robe congruent to his dignity, rose and, pronouncing the prescribed words,[2] girt

[1] Text of the petition. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XV. vol. 1, fol. 423.

[2] "*Eximium hoc laudis Poeticae decus, quod tuo capiti impono sub felicissimis auspiciis SS. D. N. P. Pii Sexti. Mulier egregia et nobilis nostra civis, sit publici non minus erga te studii argumentum, quam obsequentissimi animi significatio erga amplissimam illam, et plane regiam benevolentiam, qua decoraris.*" Corilla

her forehead with the laurel, while music sent forth its strains and the mortars of the Capitol fired a salvo of a hundred discharges. The Senate's scribe drew up a report of the ceremony.

The festivity was concluded by the reading of some appropriate verses composed by Arcadian members, and by a double improvisation which Corilla made on the splendours of the Eternal City and the high value to be attributed to the laurel she had just been crowned with. She also treated of the superiority of modern philosophy over the ancient, and of the influence of the Christian religion upon the development of art. Then she withdrew to an inner room of the palace, where her admirers came and surrounded her. Among them was an English lord, the Duke of Gloucester,[1] who was then travelling about Europe in quest of emotions. Thus, even to its details, the coronation of Corilla strangely resembled that of Corinne.

In their sitting of the 3rd of October, the Council ratified the expenses, which had amounted to 488:50 crowns.[2]

It would seem that this was the culminating point. The disproportion was too striking between the insignificance of the poetess and the brilliant homage that had been paid to her. The redoubtable Pasquin, who alone, at the time, was allowed to tell the truth, gave currency to a hundred libels, and ridiculed both Corilla and the Arcadians to such good effect that the laurel crown awarded her became to her, as Abbé Pizzi said, a veritable crown of thorns.[3] Moreover, the Arcadia itself was not long before it succumbed beneath the raillery of which it was the object.

Inscriptions Commemorating the Visits of Celebrated Personages to the Capitol.

The custom was continued in the eighteenth century of recording by inscriptions the visits of celebrated personages;

replied: "*Poetica laura immeritae imposita fronti, excelsam SS. Patris ac Principis Papae Pii Sexti munificentiam, effusamque Senatus Populique Romani erga me voluntatem testatur, quarum utraque aut onore dignos invenit, aut facit.*"

[1] William Henry, born in 1743, died in 1805.

[2] Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. XV. vol. 1, fol. 444.

[3] The following distich was repeated, in which allusion is made to the expulsion of courtesans by Pope St. Pius V.:

Plaudite, lascivae. Quintus vos expulit Urbe:
Sub sexto refert serta Corilla Pio.

In the work of Ernesto Masi, *La Vita, i Tempi e gli Amici di Francesco Albergati*, are some letters giving the counterpart of the pompous descriptions made by friends of the poetess. In them we read: "*Corilla fù condotta in Campidoglio nella carrozza del principe Gonzaga in compagnia di tre patrizie alquanto scadenti; notte tempo e sgaiottolando per straduccie solitarie. Salì al palazzo Senatorio non per la via maestra, ma per i rompicolli di Campo Vaccino; la coronazione andò per le brevi: ed il principe Gonzaga, temendo per la sua protetta, la fece riaccompagnare da*

Frederick Augustus, who came in 1738;[1] Maria Antoinette Walpurgis of Bavaria, wife to Frederick Christian, Elector of Saxony, in 1771;[2] Maximilian and Maria Christina of Saxony, children of Francis I., Emperor of Germany, in 1776;[3] their sister Maria Amelia, wife to Ferdinand I., Duke of Parma, in 1783;[4] Ferdinand IV. and Maria Caroline, sovereigns of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, in 1791;[5] and, last of all, Francis I., Emperor of Austria, in 1819,[6] were honoured in this way.

THE "LOTO."

On the 7th of September, 1725, the pontifical government issued an edict forbidding *in perpetuum*, the game of the loto. The penalties with which offenders were threatened were exceedingly severe, the galleys, and a fine of a thousand crowns for whoever organised the game, a three hundred crowns' fine, plus corporal punishment, and even the galleys, for whoever played: and for women, imprisonment.[7] Two years later, Benedict XIII. deemed it necessary to renew his prohibition by a Brief dated the 12th of August, 1727, which begins: "*Creditae Nobis divinitus.*"[8] His successor, Clement XII., had a notice posted up in all the sacristies, confirming the excommunications and other penalties pronounced against those playing at the game of the loto (7th of July, 1731).[9]

However, on the 7th of January following (1732), an edict of the pontifical treasurer, Carlo Maria Sacripante, organised the game of the loto in Rome.[10] It was prescribed that the loto-drawings should take place nine times a year, commencing on the 14th of the following February, on the Square of the Capitol.[11]

alcuni suoi bravacci armati, i quali presero a legnate certe abatucoli, che col favore delle tenebre davan la baja alla poetessa laureata." The Pope made her quit the City and forbade the sale of her portraits.

[1] Forcella, I. n. 242. [2] Forcella, I. n. 266. [3] Forcella, I. n. 268.

[4] Forcella, I. n. 270. [5] Forcella, I. n. 271. [6] Forcella, I. n. 284.

[7] *Diario del Valesio.* Cf. Cancellieri, *Mercato e Lago*, p. 244. The edict recalled previous decisions of the same kind made since 1660. In 1663, Alexander VII., at the request of King Philip IV., had prohibited lotteries in Spain by his Bull "*Pastoralis officii*" of the 2nd of January.

[8] At this date there appeared a dissertation of Girolamo Ercoli, entitled: *Del gioco del Lotto che sia degno di essere per tutto prohibito e che giustamente sia stato vietato sotto pena di scomunica con una bolla di papa Benedetto XIII*, Rome, 1728.

[9] Valesio: "*Sabato, 7 Luglio,* 1731. *Oggi si è mandato biglietto per tutte le sagrestie di Roma in stampa, nel quale si fa sapere che S. B. conferma la scomunica e le altre pene comminate ai giucatori e prenditori del Loto.*"

[10] The motives for this change of attitude are not explained in the above-mentioned edict. The use which the sovereign pontiff meant to make of the sums produced by the game of the loto, and which, as will be seen, he did make of it, no doubt justified in his eyes the abandonment of his previous attitude.

[11] *Bando generale sopra il nuovo Lotto di Roma.* ". . . *Ordiniamo che il nuovo giuco dei Lotti da farsi nove volte l'anno . . . dovrà effetuarsi per la prima volta*

The choice of this spot was probably intended to increase the numbers of those taking part in the lottery, as also of the spectators. It was, in fact, an event of considerable importance. A gallery had been erected near the statue of one of the Dioscuri, at the top of the great staircase of the Capitol ;[1] it was covered with velvet and damask. Prelates of the Apostolic Chamber, as well as a commissary and some magistrates, had taken their places in it. The box for holding the numbers was a copper urn silvered over ; the numbers, which were ninety ivory balls, were put inside, in the sight of everybody ; and a child, chosen from among the orphans assisted by the City, and clad all in white, drew five out ; a man, known for his sonorous voice, called out the winning numbers. The operation lasted two hours ; and the profit made by the pontifical government during the first year exceeded five hundred thousand crowns.[2]

Still, the authorities prohibited publicity in the matter. They prevented dealers from posting up lists of the winning numbers, and from displaying painted or printed advertisements.[3] On the other hand, the names of ninety poor girls were inscribed on long cards ; on each card there was a number ; and those girls whose names happened to be on the five winning numbers received a dowry of thirty crowns, when they were married or took the veil.[4]

The drawing of the lottery was transferred, ten years later, in 1743, to the large *loggia* of the *Curia Innocenziana* (to-day the palace of the Parliament).[5]

il 14 *Febbr. prossimo nella piazza di Campidoglio.*" Casanatense Library, *Collezione Bandi*, 1732, no. 6. Another book was then published, this time in verse ; it was less bitter than the preceding and had as its title : *In numerorum divinatores vulgo cabalistas, carmen* ; its author was the Jesuit Cesare Cordara (1733). It is in the *Raccolta opusculi del Calogerà*, vol. XII. p. 215.

[1] So near indeed that the statue was damaged in the following years, and had to be guarded by a detachment of troops. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. VI. vol. 100, p. 216. Sitting of the Communal Council of the 10th of Dec., 1739. "*Ad effetto che non restino ulteriormente dannegiate le statue dei Giganti dalle persone in occasione dell' estrazione del Lotto, il Conte Ottieri parli con Mons. Ricci Commissario delle armi perchè nei giorni dell' estrazione faccia custodire dai soldati le dette statue.*"

[2] This profit was at once divided by the Pope among the charitable institutions and the churches of the city. The church del Bambin Gesù was built with money from this fund ; those of S. Pancrazio, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Lorenzo in Borgo received sums varying between three hundred and two thousand crowns, which were employed in their restoration. Five hundred crowns were devoted to the purchase of books for the Vatican Library, and thirty thousand crowns to the work of deviating the Ronco near Ravenna. (Casanatense, Miscell., fol. 140.)

[3] 11th of March, 1732. Casanatense Library, *Collez. Bandi*, *ut supra*, no. 29.

[4] Minutes drawn up by the notary Galosius, who presided, in 1733, at the drawing of the lottery. *Archiv. di Stato*, Prot. 918, fol. 91, 219, 403. *Extractio quinque puellarum.* An association was commissioned to superintend the organisation of the lottery. It regulated its working. Casanat. Libr., *Collez. Bandi*, vol. 43, no. 14.

[5] *Diario del Chracas*, ad an., 2 February.

APPENDIX

THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA ARACOELI.

THE custom that the first Christians had of raising, on the site of pagan temples, churches dedicated to forms of the Divinity which as nearly as possible recalled those previously honoured, induced them to consecrate to the Virgin the church which, on the Capitoline Mount, replaced the temple dedicated to Juno, who had been considered as the *Dea Virgo Celestis*, or simply the *Dea Celestis.* To this deity was also given the name of *Juno Moneta.*[1] She was the Counsellor or adviser; and this rôle of hers explains the legend that grew up concerning the church of the Capitol; for the superstitions and fancies of the Middle Ages were almost always intimately connected with the reminiscences and realities of preceding epochs.[2]

The general opinion is that the Santa Maria Church was built on the ruins of the temple, about 590 A.D., in the time of St. Gregory the Great;[3] but the first mention made of it is in the year 882. At this date, it was called Santa Maria in Capitolio, and depended on a Benedictine monastery whose abbot was styled *Abbas Capitolii.*[4] To the monks of this establishment it was

[1] See pages 20 and 22.

[2] Homo, *Lexicon of Roman Topography* (in French), 1900, p. 581; Luigi Borsari, *Topographia di Roma antica*, Milan, 1897; Gatti, Giuseppe, *Acad. Romana di Arch.*, Ser. II. vol. VI. p. 331–349. In Cicero, *De Divinatione*, Bk. I. XLV. we read: "*Atque scriptum a multis est, quum terrae motus factus esset: 'Ut sue plena procuratio fieret,' vocem ab aede Junonis ex arce exstitisse; quocirca Junonem illam appellatam Monetam.*"

[3] Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p 540; Grisar, *Roma alla fine del Mondo Antico.* I. 336; Nibby, *Roma moderna*, I. 341; P. Casimiro, *Memorie istoriche della Chiesa e convento di Santa Maria in Araceli*, Rome, 1845. There was a first edition in 1736. According to Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, III. 250, the church was probably built under Constantine the Great; but this assertion does not seem justified, since at the time of the Vandal invasion in 455, the temples of the Capitol were still standing and were plundered by Genseric. Cf. J. Vetter, *L'Aracoeli*, Rome, 1886.

[4] Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.*, II. 161; Nibby, *loc. cit.*, p. 342; Armellini, p. 540.

that the Antipope, Anacletus, made the donation of the Capitoline Mount which has already been mentioned.

On the 26th of June, Pope Innocent IV. transferred the abbey and its appurtenances to the Minor Friars of St. Francis by his Bull "*Lampas insignis coelestium,*" in which he designated the abbey under the name of *Monasterium Sanctae Mariae de Capitolio.*[1] The Franciscans restored and beautified the church: they commissioned Pietro Cavallini to make in the chancel an Ambo in mosaic, which was pulled down in 1561, by the order of Pius IV., to allow of the friars having their place in the chancel. Cavallini is said to have also represented in mosaic the meeting of Augustine and the Sibyl, which was supposed to have occurred at this spot.

It was, in fact, about the same time that the legend obtained credence which gave the church its name of Aracoeli; but one needs to go further back for its origin, which lay in the opinion that two masters could not reign, simultaneously, upon earth, and that, since Jesus had appeared, the Roman Caesar must yield to him. Orosius expresses this opinion when, after speaking of Christ's birth, he says: *Eodemque tempore hic, ad quem rerum omnium summa concesserat, dominum se "hominum adpellari non passus est; imo non ausus, quo verus dominus totius generis humani inter homines natus est.*"[2] The conviction, in spreading, assumed two forms. In the west, it contented itself with symbolising the dispossession of Caesar, whereas, in the east, there was an additional substitution of new prophets for the old, of a new divinity for the old ones.[3] It is of the

[1] Wadding, II. 78; Calogera, *Opusculi*, XX. 103. This Bull is not in the *Magnum Bullarium.* The transfer was confirmed by Pope Innocent IV. in 1251, and by Pope Alexander VI. in 1259. Muratori, *R. Italic. Script.*, III 592. The *Catalogo delle Abbazie romane*, drawn up by Pietro Mállio and Giovanni Diacono, about the end of the twelfth century, mentions: "*S. Maria in Capitolio ubi est ara Filii Dei.*"

[2] A. Orosii, *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII*, Mayence, 1615, I. VI. c. 22, p. 451. Cf. Graf, *Roma nella memoria . . . del medio aevo*, Turin, 1882, I. 310, who has made a deep study of the history of this legend.

[3] Jacques de Voragine narrates, in the *Golden Legend*, c. VI. *De Nativitate.* (Lyons edition, 1554, fol. 8; cf. Th. Graesse, 1890). both of these legends. "*Cum ergo (Octavianus) in die nativitatis domini consilium super hac re convocasset et Sibylla sola in camera imperatoris oraculis insisteret in die in medio circulus aureus apparuit circa solem, et in medio circuli virgo pulcherrima stans super aram puerum gestans in gremio. Tunc Sibylla hoc Caesari ostendit. Cum autem imperator ad praedictam visionem plurimum admiraretur, audivit vocem dicentem sibi: Haec est ara Dei coeli. Dixitque ei Sibylla: Hic puer major te est, et ideo ipsum adora. Eadem autem camera in honore sanctae Mariae dedicata est, unde usque hoc dicitur sancta Maria ara coeli; intelligens enim imperator quod hic puer major se erat, ei thura obtulit: et Deus de caetero vocari recusavit. De hoc autem Orosius ita dicit: Octaviani tempore hora circiter tertia coe lo repente liquido ac puero et sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambivit quasi venturus esset, qui ipsum solem solum mundumque totum et fecisset et regeret. Haec Orosius. Idem ait Eutropius. Refert quoque Timothaeus historiografus se in antiquiis Romanorum historiis invenisse quod Octavianus XXXV regni sui anno Capitolium ascendit, et quis post se rempublicam gubernaret a dijs*

latter version that the most ancient traces are found. Augustus, wishing to know who would succeed him, went to the Pythian priestess, who, at first, gave him no answer; then decided, at last, to tell him he must quit his abode, because a Jewish child



FIG. 48.—CHURCH OF S. MARIA ARACOELI. THE CLOCK OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE. (P. TOTTI, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, 1657, p. 408.)

was born who had reduced the gods to submission, and to order the temples to be forsaken. Hearing this, the Emperor

sollicite requisivit. Et audivit vocem sibi dicentem: Puer aethereus ex Deo vivente sine tempore genitus non multum post ex intemerata virgine Deus homo nasciturus sine macula; hoc audito ibi aram aedificavit, cui hunc titulum inscripsit: Haec est ara filii Dei viventis. Secundo, &c." Cf. Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt* . . . 1497, Cologne, 1860; Italian translation, *Arch. Veneto*, XI. I. p. 140.

had an altar raised on the Capitol, with the inscription: altar to the first-born of God, *Ara Primogeniti Dei.*[1]

The western form of the legend is found in the *Mirabilia*: "The Senators seeing the Emperor's beauty, which was such as to make it impossible to look him in the face, and his unparalleled prosperity by which he had subjected the world to his laws, told him that so many advantages could not have been granted him if he had not been a god. He went therefore to consult the Tiburtian Sibyl on the matter, who asked to reflect for three days, during which she had recourse to her divinations, whereafter she told the Emperor that a king had come from Heaven to judge the earth throughout the centuries, and that this king had assumed a human form. Then the heaven opened, and a radiance appeared, amidst which the Emperor saw a virgin of marvellous beauty standing on an altar, with a child in her arms. While he was wondering at the sight, a voice from on high reached his ears: 'This Virgin,' said the voice, 'shall conceive the Redeemer of the world.' And again: 'She is the most cherished daughter of God.' The Emperor immediately prostrated himself and adored the Christ. He related his vision to the Senators. It appeared to him in his chamber on the spot where now stands the church of Santa Maria in Capitolio, which is why the edifice is now called the church of S. Maria in Ara Coeli."[2]

This version, subsequently, underwent curious transformations. The Sibyl was named Ara Coeli. Augustus summoned all the wise men. He did so from modesty or because he feared, that a more powerful monarch than he being destined to succeed him, the honours rendered to himself might later turn to his confusion.[3] It was also related that an emperor had erected, on this spot, a temple fated to last, as the oracles said, as long as no virgin should bear a child; the temple fell in, on the birth of Jesus.[4] This was one of the forms of the thought which facts justified, and which was so often and so diversely

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, surnamed Malala, a writer of the sixth century; *Historia Chronica*, then Cedreno, Suidas, Nicephorus; Malala quotes Timothy. Cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Christ.*, 1894, p. 85.

[2] *Mirabilia*, ed. Parthey, pp. 33, 34. The narration of the *Graphia* reproduced this with but few variations; no mention, however, is made in it of the church. It terminates with these words, in which the influence of the eastern tradition is felt: "*Alia vero die, dum populus dominum illum vocare decrevisset, statim manu et vultu repressit. Nec etiam a filiis dominum se appellari permisit, dicens: Cum sim mortalis dominum me dicere nolo.*" Ed. C. L. Urlichs, 1871, p. 120, line 33.

[3] A. Graf, t. I. p. 315.

[4] Gregorovius, II. 497, 524, 525. Borsari, *Topogr. di Roma antica*, p. 202, and Gatti, *Atti dell' Accad. Pontif. dei Nuovi Lincei*, an. 1896, p. 331, are of opinion that the name Aracoeli comes from *Ara Virginis Coelestis*, which was contracted into *Ara Coelestis*, since the *Juno Coelestis* was called indifferently, as has been said, *Virgo Coelestis*, *Dea Virgo Coelestis*, or simply *Coelestis*. It has even been maintained that *Coelestis* might have been read: *Coeli est.*

expressed in the Middle Ages, to wit, that the advent of Christianity necessarily involved the overthrow of the ancient world.

It is only natural, since the legend grew up first, without the place of the vision being fixed, that a locality should have been assigned to it in the temple of the *Virgo Coelestis*, first of the female divinities of Rome and having as her prerogative the task of warning and advising the Romans. Now it may also be that the name Aracoeli does not come from *Ubi est ara filii Dei*, but from *Arce*, since the temple was built on that part of the Capitoline Mount which was called the *Arx*; or it may come from *Aurocoelo*, a name given to certain churches, notably to a church in Pavia.[1] However this may be, the name S. Maria in Aracoeli, or simply Aracoeli, became the definitive title of the church of the Capitol. An archaic inscription, engraven on an altar in the chapel of St Helena, recorded the legendary origin of this appellation :



FIG. 49.—S. MARIA ARACOELI. (GERMAN ENGRAVING OF THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY.)

LVMINIS HANC ALMAM MATRIS QVI SCANDIS AD AVLAM
CVNCTARVM PRIMA QVAE FVIT ORBE SITA
NOXAS QVOD CAESAR TVNC STRVXIT OCTAVIANVS
HANC ARA COELI SACRA PROLES CVM PATET EI.[2]

The church possessed an image of the Virgin, attributed to St. Luke, which, during the Great Plague of 1348, procured it abundant offerings, utilised in building the staircase that leads to it. There are one hundred and eighty steps in it. Lorenzo

[1] Armellini, *Le Chi se di Roma*, p. 141. [2] Armellini, p. 541.

di Simone Andreozzi built it with stones taken from the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal.[1] About 1460, Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa rebuilt the arches of the two side aisles of the church; and, in 1561, Pius IV., renewing a prescription which Paul IV. had issued, but which had never been carried out, had part of the funeral monuments taken away with which the church was crowded.[2] Leo X. gave a cardinal's title to the Aracoeli church. In 1564, the door was opened which gives issue on to the Square of the Capitol, through Vignola's portico. It was Alessandro Mattei who placed, in the small window above the door, the mosaic representing the Virgin, between two angels, which may still be seen there. Previously, egress was obtained by a door that opened where now stands the chapel of S. Matteo. It gave issue into the cemetery and near the obelisk.[3] Gregory XIII. ordered that all those possessing chapels in the church should restore them; but the necessary repairs were only made under his successors. In commemoration of the victory of Lepanto (1571), a gilded ceiling was put up, not, as has been generally written, in the same year, but in the course of the years following.[4]

These embellishments were carried out at the people's expense, since they were the owners of the church. It has been seen that the City magistrates often held sittings, especially puring the fifteenth century, in the cloisters of the monastery and under the church porch. In the year 1445, Pope Eugenius IV. recognised the people's rights over the church and its appurtenances.[5]

[1] Nardini, *Roma antica*, p. 184; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti di Roma*, 1625, p. 69.

[2] Among these monuments, still very numerous, the inscriptions of which have been collected by Forcella, is that of Biondi or Blondi, the describer of Rome, whose work has been already quoted. Forcella, I. n. 519; P. Casimiro, p. 28; Terribilini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, MS. in the Casanatense Library, 2183, p. 120.

[3] Boissardus, J. J., *Romanae Urbis Topog.*, p. 26.

[4] Sitting of the 20th of Nov., 1571. The battle had been fought on the 7th of September. Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 347. On the 19th of June, 1572, Pope Gregory XIII., by a *motu proprio*, authorised the Communal Council to deduct from the *gabella dello studio* the funds required for the work. "*Cum, sicut accepimus, dilecti filii . . . in memoriam gloriosissimae victoriae . . . laquear fabricari, ornari et decorari facere decreverunt. . . .*" Archiv. Stor. Capit., Cred. I. vol. 38, fol. 381.

[5] By a Bull addressed to the Senators, Conservators, and *caporioni*, whom he commissioned to be for ever the protectors of the monastery and the monks. The Bull does not figure in the *Magnum Bullarium*; Vitale, *Storia diplom. de' Senatori di Roma*, II. 413, gives it.

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ALPHABETICAL INDEX

The letter **M** designates the objects forming part of the Capitoline Museums. **Art** designates artists or artisans having worked at the Capitol.



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